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* (48) This policy of giving an official title to the chiefs of those
* 175 Ezo who had submitted themselves to the Japanese and
622 then letting them rule was a unique policy. Even after the
A 1669 incident chiefs continued to visit the Lord of
F Matsumae and present him with gifts. From 1684 to
1687 the natives from west Ezo paid annual visits.
* 648 In 1731 the Ezo from Etorofu and Kunashiri came, and
* 175 from 1751 to 1763 the chief of Kushiro came to Fuku-
484 yama bearing gifts.

In addition, the influence of the Matsumae was reach-
ing to the more distant natives. Those Ezo chiefs came
to Japan at certain dates to visit the daimyō and ex-
change gifts. This voyage was called "*Shamu Uimamu*"
[Japan trade] and the boat used was a "*Uimamu*
[431] *Chippu*" [trade boat]. The sake received was "*uimamu*"
[293] sake or idiomatically "*Uimamu tonoto*." The word
"*uimamu*" comes from either the Japanese *uimamu*
[initial meeting] or *Omemie* [first meeting].²² In 1739
the *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

Each spring they came in a boat loaded with goods to
Matsumae to pay respects to the lord. Their attitude was
most respectful. After landing at Matsumae they would
go to a cabin to rest but never would they go out without
seeing the lord. Only after having been received in his
presence would they go into town for business. The Ezo
of remote areas did not come each year but those living
near Matsumae showed themselves every spring.

And from *Watarishima Hikki*: "It used to be that once
during his lifetime the *Otona* came to pay the lord a
visit. Each chief would bring a gift as tribute and the
vessel used for this purpose was especially decorated
and called a *Uimamchippu*"; and from *Ezo Dan Hikki*:
"When the Ezo came to visit the Matsumae they
brought with them goods produced in their region. The
Matsumae would give them gifts in return." These
trips were also made for the purpose of trading but as
the Japanese preferred to interpret the trip in its
political sense the visit gradually lost its commercial
character and its emphasis became exclusively that of
a tribute mission. This, in later years, developed into
a New Year's ceremony or a ceremonial audience. Thus,
rites were part of the methods used to rule the natives.
A typical example is that of Iwanosuke of Kennichi who
disguised as an Ezo paid tribute to the lord on January
7 of each year.²³ On the occasion of each visit the
Japanese took good care to demonstrate their power in
addition to giving many gifts. In a book written in

²² *Aimu Kenkyū*, 53 and Kida Teikichi, *Tsugaru ryōnai ni*
okeru Ezo kankei no shiryō to tomo kenkyū (Historical mat-
erials and their study in connection with the Ezo of Tsugaru),
Tōhoku Bunko Kenkyū 2 (2).

²³ "To the west of Matsumae is a village called Kennichi
where a farmer by the name of Iwanosuke (formerly an Ezo
chief by the name of Iwanoshike) has been living for many
years. Ordinarily he dresses his hair in the Japanese manner
but, when winter comes he follows the custom of the Ezo and
does not cut his hair. On January 7 he would visit the lord at
the castle where, seating himself on a new mat laid out in the
yard in front of the study, he would receive crude sake. This
was an old custom of the Ezo." *Ezo Sōshi*.

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was enforced and that there was no pilfering.⁴⁷ Since these men were the only clan representatives sent to Ezo territory they came to have the authority of settling disputes between Japanese and Ezo which was the first step in the acquisition of political power over the tribes.⁴⁸

These regulations were no more than verbal instructions laying down certain rules. In the *Igen Zokuwa* after a narration of the abuses of *Ashinpe* (the atonement penalty practiced among the Ainu) this passage occurs: "In previous years many valuables were offered as *Ashinpe* but since the introduction of rules of penalty by the lord this is no longer practiced"⁴⁹—an indication of the scope of the Matsumae regulations. *Uimamu* was used to appease the Ainu but it was also useful as a measure of rule. Similarly *Omusha* came to lose its economic character. The *Ezo Sōshi* traces the change when it notes that *Omusha* lost its original friendliness whereby both parties patted each other and became a ceremony where the Ainu received officials who occupied seats on a higher level as guests of honor and the author interprets *Omusha* as "an event for entertaining honorable and noble guests." Since the Matsumae laid down these rules the right of punishment for transgression of them lay with the Matsumae. An example of this is the imprisonment of the chief Umushimute in 1693 on the charge that, the previous year, he had spread rumors of the western Ezo revolting at a gold mine in Haporo. Thus, as Hokkaidō became an exploited colony, so did the weight of Japanese rule increase and the Ezo not only lost power but, as will be discussed in a later chapter, their freedom was limited. On the other hand those Ainu who had become followers of the Matsumae gradually intermingled with the Japanese and received equality of treatment. At the time of the independence of the Matsumae clan the area wherein Japanese could reside ran from Kameda in the east to Kumaishi in the west, a territory which included resident Ainu. After the 1669 incident, and despite strict regulations to the contrary, the Japanese began to move past this boundary into more remote areas while, at the same time, the Ainu began to retreat into the interior. In 1550 the chief of the eastern Ezo lived in Shiriuchi but by 1704 there were no Ezo in this area and only a few native

⁴⁷ According to a report written in March 1785 and found in the *Hidaya Kyōki* contraband in the contract *Bashos* of Hidayu, which were those at Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Kunashiri were, sea otter skin, bear liver, bear skin, eagle tails, seals, *eburiko* and *hotsuki* [*ubakai*, *Macra' Sachalinensis*]. These goods were handled exclusively by the Matsumae and the contract merchants could not trade in them. Transactions in them were conducted by the *Uwanoriyaku*.

⁴⁸ "Two officials accompanied the goods to Ezo. They were to see that no trouble arose between the trading parties. Also, in loading, the draft and a list of the freight was reported to these officials in writing after which the officials boarded and sail was raised." *Ezo Koku Shiki*.

⁴⁹ *SHS* 1: illustration No. 1.

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On every possible occasion the Bakufu persuaded the natives to follow the Japanese way. The importation of earrings was banned³⁷ while every encouragement was given to the importation of Japanese commodities. The government awarded Japanese clothing to those who did adopt Japanese customs. The Bakufu policy was to select a model native, from the Japanese point of view, and reward him lavishly so that others might desire to follow his example. The magistrates also made a practice of taking ten or more Ezo to Edo when the rotation period for officials came so that the natives might see for themselves the customs in Edo as a model way of life. This policy was discontinued because of opposition from officials in Edo.³⁸ The island of

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meant "to strike or to cut." Although there are as yet no research findings which completely clarify the meaning of this word, the article on *Shuto* in *Ezo Sangyō Zasshi* (written by Murakami Shimanajo and supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō) gives the impression that it was a gesture of purification akin to *Ukaru* (see Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu Keibatsu [Ainu penalties] in *Hōritsu Shunju*, 6 (3)). In my opinion, those cases in which clubs were used during *Ukaru* came to be called *Shutouchi* or *Tsuchinchi* and cases where the back of a sword were used were called *Mekkauchi*. In olden days the usage of these two terms was confused and *Shutouchi* was called *Mekkauchi* or *Mikkauchi*. To the Japanese it seemed a most barbarous ceremony. It was described as: "Persons who visit the relatives of the deceased to offer their condolences would draw their swords and with the blunt edge would strike once the forehead of the relatives which caused blood to flow. The visitors who had struck the relatives once would then in the same manner be themselves struck three times which would cause their heads to bleed. This was called *Mekkauchi*." (*Ezo Shima Kiroku* [Records of Ezo Island] found in *Gunsho Ruiju* 2.) Furthermore, although it seems that only *Mekkauchi* was prohibited, it is probable that the practice of *Ukaru*, also often used as a punishment, was also banned. Together with dances, *Ukaru* was shown to entertain the Inspectors and in *Ezo Shima Kikan* it states that, "with one stroke it sometimes happened that a person would fall dead or be seriously injured." The reason, we may presume, that this practice was prohibited is that from this period onward nothing can be found which mentions *Shutouchi* which had once been one of the famous attractions of Ezo. *Mekkauchi* remains today only in the form of *Rorunbeapukashi* in which a discussion is held with *Sara Kamui* (the god of disaster).

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³⁸ The bear ceremony was indispensable to the Ainu who were a hunting people. They prayed during the ceremony for abundant game. (Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Kuma matsuri no hanashi [Story of the bear festival], *Minzokugaku* 1 (2).) However, Bakufu officials by merely considering the superficial aspects of this ceremony in which a bear is tortured to death, proclaimed it to be cruel and prohibited it. Since it was impossible for the Ezo to hunt while this ceremony was banned, the result was that the prohibition had little effect.

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³⁷ "Articles such as earrings which are against the customs of the mainland shall be excluded from the list of trade goods and the Ezo shall be induced to follow the practices of the Japanese. The same is true of other tools and implements." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 552.

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³⁸ "When we return to Edo this winter, we wish to have accompany us about ten or more Ezo men and women who wish to do so in order that they may see for themselves the prosperity of Edo. These people would then relate their experiences to other natives which would, in our opinion, be of help in altering their customs. The reason for including

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Saké is taken with much ceremony. One evening I visited the Ainos²⁷³ at Shari, a bottle of saké in my pocket and a paper lantern in my hand.⁵⁷⁴ I wandered along the shore in the darkness and slowly made my way to the Aino village. In spite of the howling and barking of many dogs, the people were taken by surprise. The men were sprawling about on the dirty board floor around the rectangular fireplace. When they recognized their uninvited and late visitor, they got up, spread a clean mat for me, and signified their welcome by stroking the beard.^[576] When I handed them the saké there was more beard stroking. Then they got some saké cups and a tray of mustache-sticks, finer than any I had seen, and began the ceremony of drinking. A saké cup with its²⁷³ stand, such as is represented in Fig. 77, is placed in front of the chief⁷⁹⁶



Fig. 77.

SAKÉ CUP AND STAND, AND MUSTACHE STICKS.

man, sitting on the floor before the fire, who places one of the sticks across the top, as shown in the same figure 77. Then, stroking the beard, he lifts the stand and cup with both hands, and bows the head, immediately replacing them. Saké is then poured in, and he begins to recite a long formula, which continues in a low voice during the succeeding operations. Taking the stick in the right hand, precisely as one would hold a spoon, the end is dipped into the saké and gracefully moved for-

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ward, as though throwing some saké into the fire. Dipping the stick once more, a drop is thrown over the left shoulder. These operations are repeated two, three, or more times. The stick is then replaced on the cup, the whole is again raised, and finally the stick is used to lift the mustache while drinking.

No words can give a true impression of this ceremony. It must be seen in the surroundings of an Ainu hut: the shiny, blackened rafters above; the begrimed, bearded faces and unkempt hair, lighted by the faint gleam of a burning wick in a plate of oil, and the fitful flame of a smoky wood fire.

At Piratori the ceremony was slightly different. I noticed that the famous old chief Benri, who by the way, it may be remarked, speaks of Miss Bird as the "woman to whom he told so many lies," took the largest share of the saké, for he not only had a large cup, but it was filled quite to the brim; while his son was served with a cup but partly filled. One of the men went to the east window and there performed his ceremony in silence, waving his stick three or four times to the east.

The women sat behind the men, and the latter, after having themselves drunk, passed the cup behind them to their wives, without turning. But the women do not get much, for the Ainu consider that saké was only made for the gods and men.

Mr. Batchelor tells us that in drinking saké "three drops must be given to the fire goddess, three thrown toward the east window, and three toward the northeast corner

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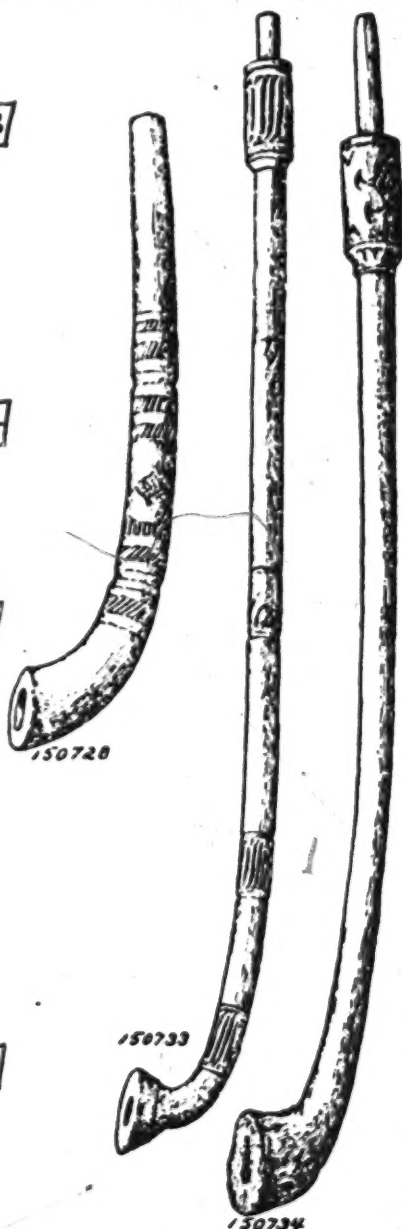


FIG. 72.
AINU TOROBU PIPES.

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of the hut, where the Aino treasures are kept, and then three drops²⁷³ must be offered to any special god, for whose benefit the libations are⁷⁹⁶ offered, or to whom the Aino are paying worship.⁷⁸² I have not observed any such regularity in their proceedings. I should say they were as likely to offer two or four drops instead of three.

The saké drinking at the great Aino bear feast, as witnessed by Dr. Scheube, is described in the account of that festival.

SMOKING APPARATUS.

The smoking apparatus consists of very simple wooden pipes, and²⁷⁶ tobacco boxes also of wood, attached with cord to long, carved sticks, which may be stuck in the girdle. Several pipes are shown in Fig. 78. The pipes may or may not have a short mouth-piece of bamboo.

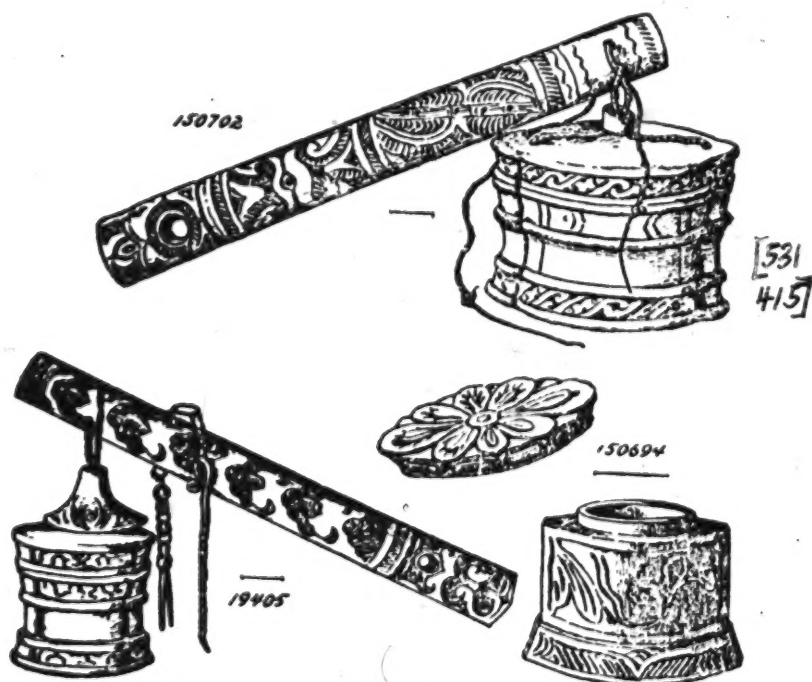


Fig. 78.

TOBACCO BOXES AND STICKS.

The tobacco boxes are usually oval in shape and often very well carved. In Fig. 79 three of these are well shown, attached to their sticks.

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through several generations. The skull of a fox is supposed to ward off evil from the house. It is sometimes carried to the hunt and to sea as a protection against evil spirits. It is also consulted as an oracle,



Fig. 86.

ISAO — WILLOW STICKS WITH SHAVINGS ATTACHED.

and questioned concerning articles lost or stolen, or when fishermen lose their way at sea, in order to learn the direction home.

FORTUNE-TELLING.

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The manner of consulting the fox-skull oracle has been described by Dr. Schenke. After presenting a drink-offering, the skull is taken in the two hands while a prayer is spoken. Then, placing the under jaw on his head, the person bows forward until it falls, and the direction towards which it points, indicates the place where the lost or stolen article is to be found. If the jawbone falls on its side, or so that the teeth are down, the answer is not decisive and the question must be repeated. A thief discovered in this manner is not brought to trial, but the owner of the property waits patiently until the offender brings back the stolen goods and seeks forgiveness. The Ainu also read the lines of the palm of the hand.

[835]

THE BEAR FEAST.

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The great Aino festival is the so-called bear feast, which is celebrated in September or October. This festival is of such an important charac-

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ter us to be worthy of a full description; but, since I was unable to be ⁷⁹⁶ present at a celebration myself, I can do no better than to give a rather full account of the ceremonies as witnessed by Dr. Scheube,* who has published the only complete description yet given by an eye witness. The original article is rather long, but in somewhat condensing the description it is believed that no detail of importance or significance has been omitted.

Before entering upon a description of the festival the bear-cage and *nusha kamui* should be noticed. The bear-cage is represented in Plate CXIII. The cages are all of this general form, built of logs notched at the ends so as to hold securely together. The bear sometimes makes most strenuous efforts to free himself by scratching and gnawing with his teeth through the tough, heavy rails, so that it becomes necessary to take out the old ones and replace them with others. This is easily done, for, owing to the manner of putting the cage together, any rail can be replaced by prying up those above it. ³⁴³

I saw many such bear-cages in the course of my travels in Yezo, but it is said that they are less numerous now than they formerly were. The *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge, already referred to, is represented in Plate CXII, from a photograph taken at Urap. It is also shown in some of the succeeding plates. This rude hedge of rough poles is an important structure in connection with the ceremony about to be described, as well as in other religious observances. The significance of the name is not exactly "temple," but it is the nearest approach to "temple" in the Aino language. Before it prayers are recited to most of the gods, although not to all, as we shall see. It is here designated "sacred hedge" for convenience. ⁷⁷⁸

Dr. Scheube witnessed the bear feast in 1880, and his account reads ¹¹⁴ substantially as given below. Plates CXIV to CXVII, illustrating the ceremonies at the bear feast, are reproductions of Japanese drawings, from a *makimono* formerly belonging to Mr. Edward Greey, now in possession of the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. G. Brown Goode. Dr. Scheube has given two illustrations of the ceremony, which are substantially the same, although in one picture the crushed bear has his head directed toward the sacred hedge, while the men sit with their backs against the hedge. Perhaps there is no established custom in the matter, and such incidental changes are of no significance.

THE BEAR CULTUS OF THE AINOS.

[Condensed from Dr. B. Scheube.]

According to the accounts of travelers concerning the Ainos, the bear is honored by this peculiar people as a god. But it would be an ⁸²⁵ ⁷⁷⁶

* Der Bärencultus und die Bärenfeste des Ainos, mit einigen Bemerkungen über die Tänze derselben. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Dec., 1880.

825 error to suppose that the Ainos regard the bear as a god in the same
 776 sense as they do the God of Fire, for example, or any of their other
 numerous deities. The bear is called *Kimui*; *Kamui-Kamui* is an Aino
 word having about the same meaning as the Japanese *Kami*, and per-
 haps is derived from it. But the same word is used as an honorable
 [576] appellation for foreign visitors, upon whom we can not possibly believe
 they would confer the attributes of a deity.

The Ainos have good reason to respect the bear. It is a most valuable
 animal, affording them food and clothing and a medicine, the bear-gall,
 which is greatly prized. On the other hand, it can do them great injury,
 as when it destructively enters their dwellings and kills their domestic
 animals. Therefore it is natural that they should seek to propitiate
 the bear, to confer upon him a title of great honor, and that they should
 consider an atonement necessary for putting him to death. They place
 the skull of the dead bear on the sacred hedge, the *nusha kamui*,
 which is found on the east side of every house, where it is held sacred
 [778] and honored as a representative of the gods under the name *Kamui*
marapto. The *nusha kamui*, god's fence, or sacred hedge, (Pl. CXII)
 is where the various gods are worshiped, except the God of Fire and
 the house-god, to which offerings are made at certain places within the
 house. The bear feast is named *iomante*. This ceremony, as well as the
 preliminary feeding and rearing of a young bear, has also the motive
 of an atonement to the whole bear tribe for the killing of its brothers
 and sisters.

231 At the end of winter a young bear is caught, placed in a cage (Pl.
 796 CXIII), and reared in the village. At first it is suckled by the wife of
 the captor, afterwards fed with fish. The bear festival usually takes
 place in September or October, by which time the young bear has grown
 so large and strong as to threaten to break the cage. The Ainos first
 endeavor to exculpate themselves before the gods for what they are
 about to undertake. Having rendered the bear every favor possible,
 they can no longer keep him in captivity; therefore it is necessary to
 kill him.

796 The man who gives the feast, assumes the expenses thereof and in-
 vites his relatives and friends. Such a festival is, considering the pov-
 erty of the Ainos, very expensive, for enormous quantities of saké are
 consumed. Hence it is considered a great honor to give a bear feast.
 At the present time the bear feasts are becoming more and more in-
 frequent. On the east coast, so far as I traveled (from Tomakomai to
 Volcano Bay), no bear feast had been held for several years. The same
 remark applies to the district around Mori, on Volcano Bay. I have
 generally seen caged bears only on the road from Urap to Oshamambe.
 In this region I found the Ainos least affected by culture. Here, in the
 small village of Kunnai, I spent the day, which will be the subject
 of the following description:

On the 10th of August of this year, about noon, I arrived at Kunnai,

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3 "ri" from Oshamambe. The host, in whose house the bear feast was to be celebrated, met us with friendly greetings. The people all wore their best clothes which, indeed, when the unclean habits of the Ainu are considered, is not saying much. On festive occasions they frequently wear fine old Japanese garments. It is a comic picture to see a worthy old Ainu in a long silk gown, richly decorated with embroidery, which may have served years before in the wardrobe of a Japanese singing or dancing girl, now indeed, with its faded colors and spots of dirt, showing but little of its original beauty. The older men wear a peculiar head-dress (Fig. 87) named *shaba umpe*, a kind of crown, worn only on



Fig. 87.

CEREMONIAL BARK HEAD-DESS.

great occasions. This is plaited of the bark of a wild vine and adorned with spiral shavings, bear's claws, vine tendrils, etc. Its dark color is due to the smoke, which fills every Ainu hut at all times of day and year, and which, apart from the different odors and insects, makes a sojourn within very unpleasant. The women, also, among whom there was not a pretty face, far less a beautiful one, had put on their best, including necklaces and strings of beads. Some had silk dresses and one had a velvet head-cloth, with which the hair was bound over the forehead. The entire company, consisting of about thirty persons, was already assembled. After looking about, meeting the principal personages, and visiting the caged bear, we entered the hut, where the feast began with a solemn offering of saké.

The house was cleaner and more orderly than any I have seen in the vicinity. The household treasures, principally old swords, sacred objects, ornaments, and drinking cups, were displayed along the north side. In the northeast corner, which is sacred to the house god, new inao were stuck upon the wall.

The inao are sticks three quarters of a metre in length, with spiral shavings attached (Fig. 86).

The kind of wood of which these are made differs in different localities. In the country from Mori to Oshamambe a kind of cornelian

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cherry is used (*Cornus brachypoda*, Jap. *mizu no hi*), while on the opposite side of Volcano Bay, at Mombetsu, and on the east coast of Mukawa and south, the willow* is used. These sticks or inao have the same meaning as the *gohei* of the shinto temples of the Japanese.

Shavings of the same wood are attached to all sorts of objects, especially to such as are used on festive occasions. Inao were placed on the four corners of the bear cage. In the fire-place, in the middle of the hut, an inao was set up. Around the fire-place mats were spread, on which the company was seated. The host first made an offering of saké to the fire god, in which he was followed by the guests. Then another offering was made to the house god before the corner sacred to this god.

During the ceremony the Ainu, seated on the mats, first raise the drinking cup with the left hand to the forehead, while the right hand is somewhat raised with the palm upward. Then the moustache-stick, which has thus far rested across the top of the drinking cup (Fig. 77), is dipped into the saké and a few drops thrown into the fire, the stick being moved several times back and forth above the cup. At the same time a prayer is murmured. This ended, the saké is drunk in large draughts, while the moustache is held up with the stick. This ceremony not only takes place on festive occasions, but is carried out whenever saké is drunk. While the gods were receiving their offerings and the drinking vessels passed from hand to hand, many greetings were exchanged, and I was again made welcome by a long speech from the host.

Meanwhile the woman who had reared the bear was sitting at one side, very sad, at times in tears. Her sorrow was certainly not pretended. She also presented a drink offering, and two other old women did the same. The drinking ceremony of the women is much simpler than that of the men. They merely raise the wine cup once before drinking and pass the forefinger across the face, under the nose.

After the close of the ceremony in the house, offerings were made before the bear cage by the host and others. The bear also received several drops of sake in a shell, which he immediately turned over. Then began a dance of the women and young maidens before the cage (Pl. CXIV), which continued a long time, with short interruptions. With faces turned toward the cage, and slightly bent knees, rising on the toes and hopping up, they moved in a circle around the cage, clapping the hands and chanting a low, monotonous song of a few words oft repeated. The hostess and a couple of old women,—who may have reared many bears,—danced, with tears, and tenderly caressed the bear; but the young people laughed and sang. Bruin gradually became aroused by

* I found the willow in almost universal use for inao throughout the greater part of the island.—R. H.

† The author is in error here. The *gohei* do not represent the gods. They are simply offerings, originally offerings of cloth, now represented by strips of cut paper. The inao seem to represent the god. There is no reason to suppose they are in any way related to the Japanese symbols.—R. H.

the noise around him, and began to jump about in the cage and set up 776
a mournful howl.

At the same time our attention was directed to another scene before the sacred hedge. The hedge was decorated with five new inao, to which leaves of bamboo were attached. The bamboo leaves signify that the dead bear may again come to life. Perhaps the evergreen color of the leaves, or the indestructible character of the bamboo, has led to its use here. In addition to this, swords and sacred quivers, known as *ikayup* or *ikor-kamut*, were suspended on the hedge. There were also bows and arrows, the latter always three in number, with which the bear was to be shot, and ear-rings and necklaces, to be laid on the bear after death. The men now found another opportunity to drink, and they made their drink-offerings before the sacred hedge. [782] This time the Otena, or chief of Oshamambe, made the beginning. Three young men, who afterwards took the bear from the cage, each added two inao. Already there were noticeable signs of the industrious application of the drinking cup, and some men, hilarious with saké, began to dance before the hedge, with their hands raised to heaven to make their happiness known to the gods, and this became more frequent as the feast continued.

The bear was taken out of the cage by the bravest young Aino, assisted by two others. Donning a fine garment owned by the chief, he climbed to the top of the cage and removed the stones and top logs, and threw a rope around the neck of the bear. With this the bear was drawn out of the cage and led around for a time, that he might once more enjoy a sense of freedom before his death. Then he was made a target for the archers and shot with arrows which, instead of the pointed heads, bore blunt wooden ends decorated with bits of red cloth (Plate CXV).

Next the bear was taken before the sacred hedge, a piece of wood placed in his mouth, and he was crushed to death in a manner shown in the Japanese illustration (Plate CXVI). The poor animal died without a groan. The women danced around, with lamentations, and struck the men to manifest their indignation at such cruelty. The skin was then cut in the middle line of the belly. The bear was laid on a mat before the hedge, the sword and quiver from the latter hung about him, and food and drink were offered. A female bear is also decorated with necklaces and ear-rings. The food consisted of a plate of millet mush, another of millet cake made in the same manner as the Japanese *mochi*, with fish-oil poured over it, a can of saké with drinking cup, chopsticks and moustache-stick, the latter provided with spiral shavings.

The men then seated themselves before mats spread before the bear (Pl. CXVII), each with his drinking set before him, and began to make libations of saké and to drink unlimited quantities. It is the custom for the chief to begin this drink-offering, but he yielded the honor to the oldest man present. This man made the offering before the bear in [782]



SHOOTING THE BEAR.



CRUSHING THE BEAR.

[Fain, p. 480 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891

AB6 Ainu AB6

Report of National Museum, 1890.—Hitchcock

PLATE CXVII.

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OFFERINGS TO THE DEAD BEAR.

[Facing p. 480 (c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891

AB6 Ainu AB6

Report of National Museum, 1890 - Hitchcock.

PLATE CXIV.

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DANCE AROUND THE BEAR CAGE.

[Facing p. 480 (67)]

- 776 the same manner as above described, using the drinking apparatus
[782] which was set before the bear. The others followed, and soon a good portion of the company was lying helplessly drunk upon the mats. The older men far excelled the younger in excessive drinking.

Turning now to the women, the sorrow which they, especially the older women, manifested when the bear was crushed, soon passed off and gave place to general hilarity which, since they did not despise the saké, increased at times to ecstasy. They gave themselves up to the pleasures of the dance, in which only short breathing spells were allowed.

The older women showed themselves the more vigorous and wildest dancers.

Meanwhile the feast had reached its height, and the young men who had led the bear from the cage, mounted to the roof of a house in order to throw millet cake from a basket among the people.

The bear is usually cut up on the following day, when the company again assembles to continue the drinking bout. After the animal is skinned and disemboweled, the legs and trunk are separated from the head, which remains in the skin. One of the young Ainu acted as butcher, while the others stood or sat around. The blood was caught by these in cups and greedily drunk. The liver was taken out, cut in small pieces, and eaten raw with salt. The flesh and other entrails were preserved in the house, to be divided among the participants in the feast on the following day. During this work the women danced around the sacred hedge, as they did around the cage at the beginning of the feast.

The bear's head, within the skin, was placed before the hedge and decorated in the same manner as the body was adorned before, one inao being added, and a general drink-offering was made. At the end of this the skin was drawn from the skull, leaving such as adheres to the snout and ears. In the left side of the back skull-bone of male bears, in the right side of females, an opening is made, through which the brains are removed. These are divided in the cups, mixed with saké, and drunk. The skull is then filled with shavings. The eyes were taken out and the orbital fat was bitten off and eaten by the young butcher. The eyes were wrapped in shavings and returned to their sockets. The mouth was stuffed with bamboo leaves and the skull decorated with shavings. The skull was again returned to the skin, and both, with sword, quiver, inao, and the piece of wood which the bear held in his mouth when he was crushed, were laid before the hedge. After another drink-offering the skull was raised upon a pole in the hedge, (Fig. 88,) which terminated in a forked end, and the entire company of men and women, singing and crying, danced before it. The pole had also an inao on either side of its upper forked end, and bamboo leaves attached. Beneath the skull, the piece of wood from the bear's mouth was fixed crosswise, and from it the sword and quiver were suspended.

[782] The two latter are usually removed in the course of an hour. A final

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

481 A

drink offering, in which the women also took part with renewed weeping, completed the ceremony. The manner of placing the head on the pole is shown in Fig. 88, which is copied from Dr. Scheube's drawing. The general appearance of the hedge is best seen in Plate OXII.

In the short account of the mythology and folk-lore of the Ainos given further on, there are some bear stories which are of interest in connection with the ceremonies described, indicating how the Ainos regard the animal in its relations to themselves. As Dr. Scheube has said, the bear is more to them than a mere beast of the forest, to be hunted and killed for food and raiment.

The Ainos are not the only people who worship the bear in the manner described above. In the northern part of Saghalien there are a people quite distinct in their physiognomy and language from the Ainos known as the Gilyaken.* Mr. W. Joest observed a bear feast among the Gilyaken, the description of which, as quoted by Dr. Scheube in a later communication, is substantially as follows. The mother bear is shot and the young one is caught and reared, but not suckled in the village. When the animal is large enough he is bound with a thong around the neck and another on one of his hind legs, and then led in triumph through the village. He must enter every house, where he receives food, while his manner of entrance and conduct are observed as omens. The bear is then for a time provoked, tormented, and annoyed until he is enraged and furious. The animal is then secured to a stake and shot dead with arrows. The head is then cut off and decorated with shavings corresponding to the inao of the Ainos, and placed upon the table upon which the feast is spread. The people then beg his forgiveness and offer prayers to him. They then eat the flesh roasted (not raw, as do the Ainos, nor do they drink the blood) with schnapps, but without any ceremonies. Finally the brain is eaten and the skull is placed with the shavings in a tree near the houses. Then follows dancing by both sexes in imitation of bears.



FIG. 88.

THE BEAR'S SKULL ON THE SACRED HEDGE.

DANCES AND OTHER CEREMONIES.

Allusion has been made here and there to singing and dancing. Dr. Scheube has given an account of the dances he saw, but it has not seemed

* See Reisen und Forschungen in Amur-lande, Dr. L. Von Schrenck, vol. III, for an exhaustive account of these people.

- 796 desirable to treat this subject at length in this place, for the reason
535 that there is so little known as yet concerning the significance of the
Aino dances. The dancing is not graceful. In some instances it would
seem that the dances are imitative of animals, as the bear dance and
the crane dance mentioned by Mr. Blackiston, who when unaware of
the name "was forcibly struck with the resemblance of the chanting
used during the performance to the sounds uttered by cranes."

- 796 A strange ceremony was once witnessed by Mr. Louis Boehmer
among the Saru Ainos, which is thus quoted by Mr. Blackiston.

The chiefs were dressed expressly for the occasion in handsome robes embroidered with blue, and wore crowns of straw decorated with red flannel and bits of tin. Within the lodge were Japanese gifts that had accumulated for perhaps a score of generations, old swords, rice dishes, and lacquered ware; the oldest much the best and very handsome, the newest nearly plain lacquer.

The Ainos in drinking raised their heavy mustache with a small stick, somewhat like a paper cutter, made for the purpose and sometimes neatly carved. The next morning on the shore some of the Ainos made a prayer to the sea-god to quiet the swollen waves, and to send back two boats that had gone out each with two Ainos a couple of days before. The same day an Aino boat that went in search of them, brought back one boat, but the other seemed to be lost. The two rescued, but half starved men were fed on the seashore, and towards sunset there was a singular dance on the beach. The Aino men of the village formed one line and the women another, and with poles like lances in their hands went through many evolutions. Sometimes they would make as if charging with their lances against the sea. Then there was another prayer by an old man facing the sea. After sundown all hope for the other boat was given up, and according to custom the women in all of the neighboring five villages devoted themselves to lamentations, which they kept up the greater part of the night. They squatted in pairs on the ground, facing and hugging each other, and wailed and shed tears. The men did not join in the crying, and the women did not except while squatting.

There is also a harvest festival, which occurs in November, when much saké is consumed with singing and dancing. Both sexes join in most of the dances.

Some of the popular songs are given by Dr. Scheube, among which the following will bear translation:

Drinking song.—I am chief in this village; thou art chief in another village. We do not know which of us is the wiser. In order to decide we must begin a strife of words together. This, however, does not go well with the drinking. Therefore we will content ourselves with the drinking.

Song of thanksgiving.—I am very fortunate that I have received from you, most honored sir, such good eating and drinking.

Fisher song when a new boat is first used.—The daughters of the master are beautiful, the old as well as the young. So beautiful will this boat also be.

MYTHS AND FOLK-LORE.

The Ainos having been, as it may reasonably be supposed, more or less subjected to Japanese influences for a thousand years, it would be very strange if they had not borrowed something from the latter of their mythology and folk-lore. So indeed they have, but this influence has not been so strongly felt as might be expected, doubtless because

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INAU OF THE AINU, SAGHALIN.

1, Inau on the top of the tree to which the bear is bound at the bear festival; 2, Inau for the bear's head; 3, Curative inau attached to the wooden figure of a curlew; 4, Figure of a bear bound with strings; 5, Curative inau in the form of a necklace; 6, Inau in the form of an ear-protector for the bear.

[Facing p. 428]

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU

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778 sides of the arms, seven spiral cuts in the bark, along the stem,
532 and a superposed head-piece in shavings with seven braided
tresses on the crown. Compare Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3, which
represents a simplified type of this inau for the fireside.

Inau-sticks are often mere miniatures of these large inau-trees, which cannot be used everywhere with equal ease, on account of their size and cumbersomeness.

778 Further, there are to be distinguished individual and group inau. The latter are called *nusa* (a Japanese term), or *inau-chipa*; and, according to the purpose for which they are designed, they consist of one or another number of figures, — now of husband and wife, now of a whole family, and again of master and assistants. A whole forest of such group inau is arranged in a semicircle on the arena on the occasion of a bear festival.

779 The appellation "inau" is not confined to the figured
778 sticks, — poles and trees cut into shavings in a certain manner, — but is applied as well to the very shavings (though, without the stem, they represent no figure), and even to articles made of shavings, provided they bear upon the cult. Thus, the shavings with which the Ainu are wont to tie their heads at solemn banquets bear the same name, which is also given to ornaments woven of shavings put on the bear's head during the bear festival (Plate XXXV, Fig. 2), and to a whole line of all possible kinds of medicinal frontlets and fillets made of shavings (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of these last are made of common fabrics throughout, but are trimmed with cords twisted of finely cut shavings; and therefore they, too, are characterized as "inau." It is sufficiently manifest from this that *shavings are the most essential attribute of inau*, and it is particularly necessary that this should be borne in mind in order to clearly understand the meaning of this peculiar form of cult.

778 The inau play an enormous part in the Ainu's life. All his
771 surroundings, all his environments, his whole field of activity,
782 is filled with inau. Enter his house. On the fireplace is set up an *unt-i-inau*, inau to the "mistress" of the fire (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3); in the corner there is a fringed *tisse-kamui inau*, inau to the "master" of the house, the ancestor; to the fender of the

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[771] the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

778
755 On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness.

789 The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles

[532] (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.

[291]
[301] It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial
● 796 of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned
825 the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for
291 the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the
301 bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads
789 of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea, are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

loyalties which might result from a typical double (or bilineal) descent system were absent among the Saru Ainu.

Principal Features of the Patrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Ancestral emblem.* All men belonging to the same patrilineal group shared an ancestral emblem or crest of the same form. This emblem, known as *itokpa*, was inherited from father to son and served as the principal symbol of the group (Natori 1940: 1945: 41-51). Whether or not every member of the group had to be able to trace patrilineal descent from the founding ancestor is not clear. Although many men can still do so, this does not appear to have been required. It was rather the emblem itself which served as the concrete proof of the membership. Daughters, of course, did not inherit the emblem.

(2) *Guardian deity.* All members of a patrilineal descent group worshipped the same guardian deity, known as *pase-onkami*. The deities worshipped were the bear, owl, fox, dolphin, etc. The Ainu believed that these deities had once been protectors of their ancestors. For this reason some writers have regarded these deities as totems, but none of our data seems to support this view. There is today no clear notion among the Ainu that these animals share flesh and blood in common with their ancestors or that the animals should not be killed or eaten. The Ainu lack any totemic myth to explain the origin of the relationship between an animal and those who worship it. Also, in each family, the worship of the guardian deity was conducted by the head of the family. There were no totemic ceremonies or feasts at which all those who worshipped the same animal congregated to strengthen the solidarity of the group.

Although the ancestral crest and the guardian deity were supposed to be transmitted through both the main line and all the branch lines of a descent group, some of the branch lines, and even the main line, have at times partially modified the crest in the course of generations and have replaced the original guardian deity with another. This phenomenon suggests a mechanism of segmentation in the Ainu kinship organization, although there is no direct evidence of this.

(3) *Perpetuation of the descent line.* Patrilineal descent was normally continued from father to son. In the absence of male heirs, however, it was common for an Ainu family to have a son-in-law or a foster son inherit the emblem and worship the group's guardian deity. The father-in-law or foster father would ask the guardian deity if his son-in-law or foster son might be admitted to the patrilineal group, and, when permission was granted, he taught the novice about the ancestral emblem and the deity of the group. Since these recruits were considered full-fledged members of a patrilineal group, genealogies provided by native informants do not necessarily reflect strictly biological descent.

Immigrants to a village and servants whom the Ainu considered good men might also be given the right to share the emblem of the descent group of the village, worship its deity, and thus be incor-

PREFACE

kaido, but some time in 1934 he wrote saying he intended to remain in the Ainu country permanently. 114

In his letters he mentioned that he had recorded in the Ainu language, and translated, a large number of songs and legends, fifty invocations for the treatment of various ailments, many treatments for difficult childbirth, and descriptions of ceremonies and exorcism rites. He had also made notes on music and pastimes. He took some films when interesting ceremonies were held in the neighbourhood, and as he was not satisfied with these he engaged a professional photographer to work under his direction, while taking stills himself. Munro also mentioned that films were taken of rites and ceremonies connected with fertility, pregnancy, parturition, spirit possession and the treatment of diseases; also of ritual dancing and the Beer-straining and the Bear Ceremony. Unfortunately, only the last of these films reached this country. It is now in the possession of the Royal Anthropological Institute, where it was shown on the 10th January 1933. Recently, a positive was made from the original negative, and was shown in Athens in September 1961, at a meeting of the Comité International du Film Ethnographique et Sociologique. 114 126

The Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rites. Munro witnessed it several times but did not include a description for his book. He did mention, however, that the part of it which is performed inside the house is similar to the House-warming Ceremony, and he sent a photograph (Pl. XIII,) of the *inau* set up for the rite. For it, a bear cub was caught and tended with great care and reverence, and actually treated as the representative of the god, or perhaps the god (*kamui*) itself. When grown to suitable size, the caged bear was killed ritually. It seemed a serious omission for a book on Ainu religion to have no account of the most important rite. I have therefore added an account made from the captions Munro wrote for his film (Appendix II). 114 796

Munro also saw, on many occasions, the ritual with which a hunted bear was killed, but neither is there a written account of this. There is a short description of the former rite by Batchelor, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 249. [776] [825]

Various adverse circumstances made the progress of work slower than Munro expected. The rigorous climate and the hard and lonely conditions of life at Nibutani told severely on his health. Seligman raised money from private sources to enable him to carry 114 [224]

INTRODUCTION

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remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

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The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

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A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.¹ Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

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Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

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Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

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It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom² states that in 805 a memorial to the

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¹ I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa* who *kor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

² G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

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774 In some degree this was extended to *ramat* in general. The *ramat*
782 of a snake or wasp, for example, is almost sure to harbour resent-
825 ment if the creature is killed unceremoniously. Death comes to all,
and for *ramat* it simply means change of body or abode. But to be
forced to leave without, as it were, receiving due notice, is apt to
cause resentment. In times past the *ramat* of small animals and
birds killed, or even found dead, was placated by some wrappings
of sacred *inau* shavings, and animals ritually killed were sent off
[796] with great ceremony. Sacrifice other than the ritual dismissal
(*kamui iomande*) of the bear is now seldom seen, but the Bear
Ceremony is still characteristic of Ainu belief and ritual.¹

776 To offend any kind of *kamui* involved the risk of retaliation by
787 spirit magic or actual spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a good
as well as a bad spirit possession. (See Chapter IX.)

774 *Kamui* operate by possession or by the exercise of magic power.
776 There are words for different kinds of magical operation; one
quite distinct from it, is *mauwe*. In prayers soliciting help against
782 evil spirits I have found *mauwe* to mean magic; it is a magic agency
787 employed by *ramat*. Some *kamui* have more *ramat* than others and,
like the Pacific *mana*, it is attributed to human beings in different
measure. This is not so marked in the present degenerate culture,
though a magnetic personality still enjoys some repute for specially
efficient power in dealing with evil spirits.

756 Those who perform the rites are the *ekashi*. This word is a term
of respect which as a rule means elder and will usually be so trans-
lated, though it is also used to mean grandfather and ancestor. The
corresponding feminine term is *fuchi*, which means primarily grand-
mother, but also ancestress and goddess.

Batchelor speaks of the *ekashi* as shamans, and in a broad sense
this is not incorrect.² The rites which they perform, and the nature

[776] ¹ The Ainu believed that every deity lived in the country of deities, with a
mode of life similar to that of the Ainu, and had human form. When a deity
[825] visited the Ainu, it dressed appropriately. For example, Kim-un Kamui, Deity
of the High Mountains, put on the skin of a bear. When animals which embodied
particular deities were caught by the Ainu, the spirits were sent home with the
prescribed ceremonies; among those so sent home were the bear, the salmon,
the owl, and, in some localities, the seal, the *sirkap* and the *siam*. The bear,
the owl and the eagle were kept and killed ritually.—H.W.

[787] ² In no rite described by Munro does an *ekashi* become possessed by a spirit.
Women mediums called *tusu*, possessed by *kamui*, diagnose diseases which are
then treated by the *ekashi* Chapter IX, Exorcism). Among the photographs

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

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776 a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window
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 [342] is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered necessary.

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● [796]

There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'. Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and sometimes of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things' (*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the Ancestral Host.

[789]

I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward happening from above, such as a landslide or heavy fall of volcanic ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought to make it cease.

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A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that *oina* refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

THE KAMUI

776 spirits in the guise of bears and are recognizable as such by their
825 footprints. But the chief spirit of the bears and the chief spirit of snakes are benevolent deities; animals are sometimes believed to be incarnations of these *pase kamui*. It is said that the wolf and fox were killed ritually in the old days, so they also may have been regarded as *kamui*.

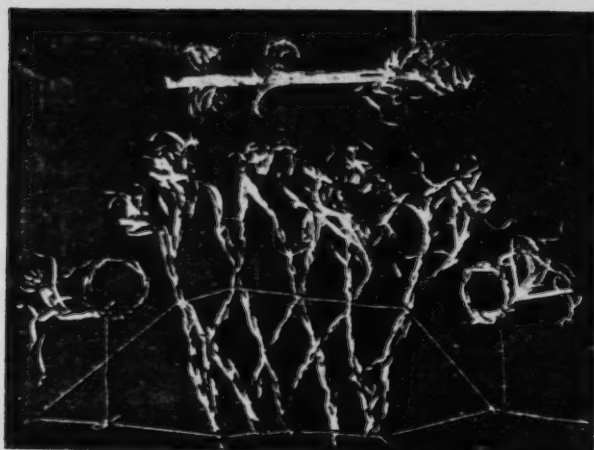
Because birds fly above the earth and sometimes disappear mysteriously for a season they are credited with various powers, and some are held in high veneration. The eagle owl is worshipped to a greater or lesser extent in all the places I visited. At Mokoto in the north it had a distinguished position on festival occasions between the *inau* of Moshiri-kara Kamui, Maker of the World, and Wakka-ush Kamui, Spirit of the Waters. It is known from north to south as Kotan-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Village, though other names are also given to it.

Three other bird-gods are worshipped at Mokoto: the great black woodpecker who chips out and protects boats, the spotted kingfisher (Satchini Kamui) who protects fish, and the crow, known as Pashkuru Kamui. The depredations of the crow are tolerated; one reason given is that it is said to have saved the sun from being swallowed by a ferocious evil spirit by pecking the monster's tongue till it disgorged its prey. Another reason is that on one occasion when some Ainu were starving, crows guided them to a stranded whale. Formerly, the crow and some other important birds were killed ritually, as a young bear still is. I am told that the practice of killing birds ritually has not altogether died out, but I have not been able to see an example of it.

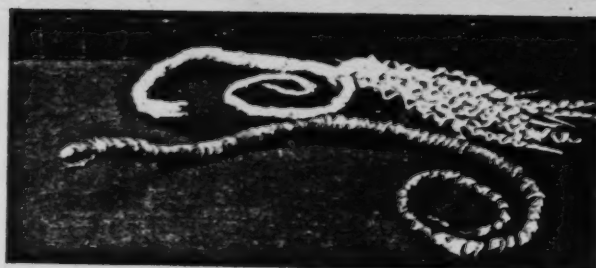
Like human beings, some birds are better disposed than others and some are essentially good. The best, Kesorap Kamui, of glorious plumage and pitying heart is mythical, and so is the worst, Huri or Furi, said to have been a huge bird which lived in a cave and devoured human beings. There are birds of good and evil omen, and birds which make it their duty to give timely warning of impending trouble. The warning is usually heard in the darkness, as is that of the black fox. If the source is unrecognized it is considered most uncanny and said to be that of Kunne-rek Guru (Voice-in-the-dark Person).

Other theriomorphic *kamui* which should be mentioned include the spider, Yooshkep Kamui, said also to be called Kamui Tunchi-hi and to be a divine assistant of Nusu-koro Kamui. By loose

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Fig. 1. Coat and earrings for the young bear at its festival, and above, *ok-memo-in* to thrust behind the windpipe during skinning.
Fig. 2. Images (*moka*) of snakes: that made of curled shavings used in exorcism; the other, made of grass, used for protection against illness.
Fig. 3. Head of a turtle blackened with age, with fresh shavings attached as a protection against misfortune.

PLATE IV. CURLED SHAVINGS.

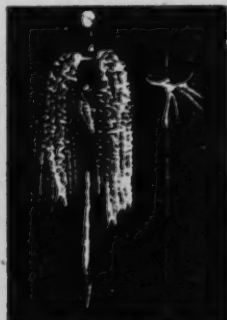
[p. 30, (v)]



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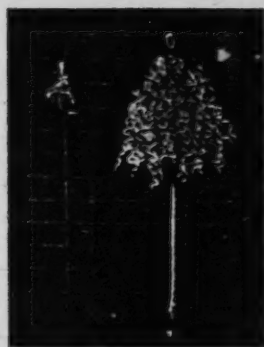


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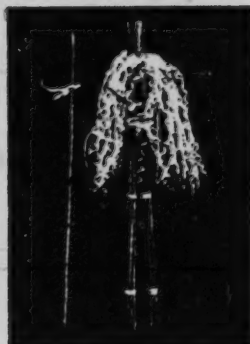
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Fig. 1. The body of Chisei-koro Kamui. The heart is tied on with shavings; the flattened side of the body represents the abdomen. Fig. 2. Chisei-koro Kamui, fully dressed, with his spear. Fig. 3. Shutu isau Kamui for three brothers who protect vigour and welfare. Fig. 4. Chikube-ni Kamui with spear, protector of the young bear until the time of its ritual dismissal. Fig. 5. Soko-ni Fuchi with spear, for help in difficult childbirth. Fig. 6. Ai-uah-ni Kamui. Fig. 7. Imosh Kamui, made by Uesanash Ekashi.

PLATE VII. EFFIGIES.

[p. 30, (G)]

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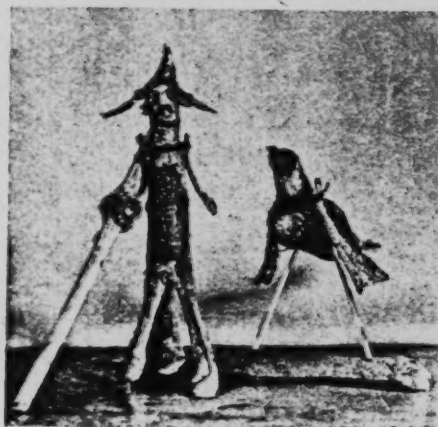
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Fig. 1. Uesanash giving ritual dismissal to Imosh Kamui.

Fig. 2. Renuikesh-Ekashi giving ritual dismissal to Penup Kamui.

Fig. 3. Imosh Kamui dismantled at the *nasa* erected for him with the *inau* appropriate to the highest *kamui*.

Fig. 4. Penup Kamui.

PLATE VIII. DANGEROUS KAMUI.

[p 30, (H)]



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782
796 ●



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Fig. 1. Chupusu inau fixed to the top of the post (*tusok ni*). In the bear ceremony, when the flesh is cut up, it is dipped in the blood of the bear and again attached to the post.
Fig. 2. The head of the bear in the centre of the *nusa* of many inau set up for the bear ceremony.
Fig. 3. The Chupusu and inau fencing set up for the bear ceremony.

PLATE XIII. INAU ARRANGED FOR BEAR CEREMONY.

[p. 30, (M)]

796
527
291
516
353
352
789

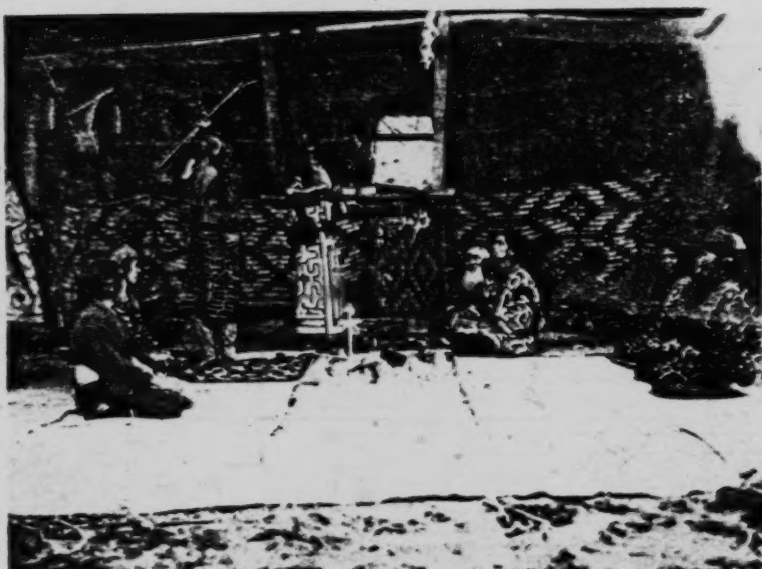


Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

574
796
516
264
114
353
352



Fig. 2. The author in the *u-eshopki* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

THE INAU

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.¹ They are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven. 824
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532
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There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*ruwe*). The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba *Kamui* at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un *Kamui*, the God in the Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush *Kamui*, the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.² At the great Bear Festival, 778
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[825]
[796]

¹ The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro *Kamui* as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*teh-e-kara*). Except Chisei-koro *Kamui* all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with *Kamui Fuchi* and *Nusa-koro Kamui*. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders. [114]

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro *Kamui* represents Shiramba *Kamui* in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba *Kamui* and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pass kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S. [176]

² Kim-un *Kamui* is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un *Kamui* materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

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[825]

[796]

which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are, in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura *inau*. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

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An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*, is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue*

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[532]

[791]

[801]

(hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*) has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

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The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*¹ (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the *Sambucus latipinna* (*soko-ni*) and *Alnus hirsuta* (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

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In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

¹ See footnote, p. 30.

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were then using cut pieces of elder attached to rods stuck in the ground to protect their millet from harm. There are other vestiges of the use of *inau* in Japan, but their consideration would take us too far afield. 778
[789]
[171]

The *chehorokakep* (chi-a-horoka-ke-pe), 'the thing shaven backward', is of special interest. It is seldom spoken of as an *inau*, but so far as I know has no other name, so will be referred to as the backward-shaven *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 5). Whereas the shavings are cut upwards for *inau* with curled or twisted shavings, these are cut downwards. Whether this has any significance or is merely easier in view of the short distance between the curls is uncertain. There are six sets of curls, two at each of three levels, the top ones being quite small. The usual ones have a cavity on top like that of the beer-straining *inau*, but special ones dedicated to Kinashut Kamui are flat on top with a slit for a mouth. Whereas the former are made of willow, the latter may be of willow or walnut. Plate II, figs. 6 and 7, are respectively of willow and walnut, but the light green of young willow bark does not show up well. As much bark as possible should be retained on winged and backward-shaven *inau*; they are made of living wood and it is said it would be wrong to deprive them of their skin. [824]

The backward-shaven *inau* are offered to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui. They are always offered to Kamui Fuchi before offerings are made to the other *kamui*, and they may be offered to Uare Kamui, Kamui Fuchi's proxy or alter ego, at the lower end of the hearth. At special celebrations libations are poured into their cups and those of the beer-straining *inau*. Both are then burnt in the sacred hearth and Kamui Fuchi is believed to pass them on to the ancestral spirits. When not burnt as offerings they are stuck into the ashes of the hearth and invocation may be made to them about any serious matter, after which they are given ritual dismissal at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. During ritual impurity, such as at childbirth, the hearth, sacred to Kamui Fuchi, must not be contaminated, and the backward-shaven *inau* are taken up and disposed of somewhere out of sight. 778
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[844]

Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui generally receive one each. At the Falling Tears ceremony four are inserted in the ground near the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui but they are not offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui. [796] •

The next two *inau* to be described are elegant objects, made with

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horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value.

When the sacred millet brew (*inau 'korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection.

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition.

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head.

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male

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know enough to hazard an opinion on this subject. I know, however, that in certain village communities (*kotan*) they are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent. Uesanash Ekashii, a reliable informant, tells me that the mode of tying *inau* to their stem (Pl. V, fig. 11) is a sign specific to certain male lines of descent. 778
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Another class of objects which are believed to carry *ramat* calls for notice. I cannot say who first named them moustache-lifters, but it was one of those guesses, based on imperfect acquaintance, frequently repeated in popular writings. These are flattened wands about a foot long, usually decorated on one side and pointed at one end (Pl. VI, fig. 1). When laid horizontally over the drinking-cup (*tuki*), their proper resting position, and when the cup is held in the left hand and the wand in the right, it is sometimes used to keep the moustache out of the liquor. But that is far from being its real function. 778
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In recent times they have become generally known as drinking-sticks (*ikubashui*), but they are really prayer-sticks as I discovered many years ago. Sometimes they are used as libation-wands, as will be described later. When examining a collection of about forty specimens I noticed that nearly all had a mark like an arrowhead on the under surface of the pointed end. This indicated direction, and it is known to most elders is the tongue (*parumbe*). In the Ishikari region it is on the upper surface. When it is absent the pointed end of the stick perhaps represents the tongue. Certain lines and patterns at one or both ends may be degenerate eye motifs. A recent specimen, with its partly modern style of decoration, seems to show a revival of the eye motif on the misunderstanding that each line represented an eye. 778
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[532]

At the Bear Festival the winged prayer-stick of willow (*kike-ush bashui*, Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3) is tied to the great *inau* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui and remains there. Another is given to the head of the bear when it is erected with many *inau*, but this one is taken back to the house. [796] ●

All elders consider the prayer-stick as a sacred object, a messenger of prayer to, and especially from, Kamui Fuchi, and firmly believe that it carries *ramat* in an exceptional degree, while some regard it as ranking with the auxiliary *kamui*. At the same time it is a libation-wand, and with it drops of the sacred brew were formerly transmitted to the *kamui* and the *inau* dedicated to them.

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778 It has played a part, if a small one, in the alcoholism of the present-day Ainu, elders now affecting to believe that they can win the approval of the *Kamui* by offering a few drops of raw *shochu*. The function of the sticks as libation-wands was secondary to that of pointing, as a speaker may do with the forefinger, and of transmitting messages from *Kamui Fuchi*. In prayer an elder may say that his language is faulty, but that the prayer-stick will convey his meaning correctly.

[201] 778 There are two kinds of mark on the prayer-sticks. Those on the underside are found on most household specimens and are the owner's marks (*shirosh*); those on the upper side are patrilineal ancestral signs (*ekashi itokpa*) and are regarded with respect and awe (*oripak*). Though not as sacred as the women's secret girdles, the attitude of men towards them is somewhat similar to that of women to their girdles. I was told by Nisukrek-guru that whatever the number of ordinary prayer-sticks in the house, only one had the ancestral sign. This was taken on hunting expeditions, partly for protection and partly for identification in the event of death. A stick bearing the same sign and known as the *pushka-un-ni* was firmly tied to the quiver, but was not a prayer-stick.

[782] These ancestral signs are also cut on the upper side of the special prayer-sticks, *kike-ush-hashui* (Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3), offered to Hash-inau-uk *Kamui*, and temporarily presented to the head of the bear before its ritual dismissal. The shavings left attached to these sticks, which are freshly made of willow, are wings (*rap*) to waft prayers to the *kamui*. Bear festivals were given by the owner of the young bear, which had been captured as a cub. The host's ancestral sign was presented to the bear spirit and its ancestors in order that it might be glad to return to life for another such feast. It identified the lineal descendant (whose ancestors had given many such communal feasts), and who looked forward to many more.

[796] In Kitami province *inau* may bear the signs of various deities. The blind elder from whom I obtained the interesting specimen shown in Pl. VI, fig. 4, told me that it was the sign of Rep-un *Kamui*, and he called it *asupe noka*. This sign is found on other northern *inau*. I have not found any instance, in the south, of a *kamui itokpa* on either *inau* or prayer-stick.¹

¹ It will be noted that this sign is not similar to that on Pl. IX, fig. 6. However, Munro also photographed the *itokpa* on the reverse side of these *inau* stems, but unfortunately, the prints are not clear enough to identify the signs.—B.Z.S.

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978 and Pl. III, fig. 3). All *inau* are planted in the ground, those re-
 782 quired to be higher than their neighbours being raised on legs (*kema*), as already mentioned. Next comes the soul (*ram*) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui (B), whose 'soul' is believed to act locally for Ainu welfare. He receives the same kinds and number of *inau*, except that the small winged ones are somewhat taller than those given to Nusa-koro Kamui, as are those for the other *kamui* at the fences. Like other *kamui* he receives additions on gala occasions, to be described as they occur. It seems that formerly there was a space between the *nusa* of different *kamui*, but now, though the chaff-thrown *nusa* is always kept separate, those of the other *kamui* are often adjoined. Next is the *nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui (C)¹ who is given four small winged *inau* and one beautiful twisted shaven *inau* (*kike-parase inau*). Then comes the *nusa* (D), devoted to various *kamui*, including the bear, eagle-owl (Kotan-koro Kamui) and several others, connected with ancestral cult and worshipped at important festivals in *pase ongami* ritual. Here four or more thick winged *inau* and two twisted shaven *inau* are set up. The last *nusa* (E) is that of Wakka-ush-Kamui, who has four small winged *inau* and a backward-shaven *inau*, and on important occasions a twisted shaven *inau*. But this *kamui*, or his assistant spirits, may be offered *inau* of the two usual kinds at various riverain sites, including the site of the water-working millet pounder (*yutap*).

- [774] The *nusa* fences provide resting places for the *ramat* of the
 [776] *kamui*, where they may receive the appropriate offerings of *inau*.
 Thus, the inhabitants of the house can always be in contact with the protecting (*ehangi*) *kamui*, close at hand to listen to suppliants, and protect them from evil spirits. Through the sacred window their *ramat* holds communion with Kamui Fuchi. The elders pray to her in language stereotyped by repetition from generation to generation, and she communicates with the spirits. On festive occasions libations are given to the *kamui* at their respective *nusa*, and they are believed to join in the general feasting and gaiety. The ritual of the hearth and the *nusa* forms an integral part of Ainu life.
- [796] In the diagram, four backward-shaven *inau* at (F) indicate the place where the 'Falling Tears' ceremony was held at every festival

[776] ¹ Another name for this *kamui* is Iso-sange-mat. This deity gives the Ainu successful hunting and is believed to assume the guise of a small bird in its manifestation. It is also said to be a sister to the fire deity. It has other names such as Iso-ampa-Kamui, game-owning deity, and Iso-an-Kamui.—H.W.

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when the sacred beer was brewed. Here the sole religious observance permitted to women was performed—the offering of food and libations. These are sprinkled and spread on the ground near the chaff-thrown *nusa*, though the spot selected may vary in different houses or villages. In some places the regular number of four *inau* offered to each *kamui* is departed from, each woman being given a backward-shaven *inau* to insert in the soil when making her offering.

These *inau* serve to remind the ancestral spirits, whether recent or remote, that they are not neglected by their descendants. Like those set up at the fences, they are never removed. It must not be supposed, however, that they are always in a condition 'to beautify the land and gratify the *kamui*'. Even when they were regularly renewed the weather soon played havoc with their elegance, and nowadays most of them are in a ruinous state. But to pass between the fences and the sacred window was formerly taboo to those not engaged in the performance of ceremonies, and to do so is still regarded as an affront to the householder.

Inau fences are not only erected outside the sacred window. Other *kamui* have such fences dedicated to them at certain locations, notably Masara-koro Kamui, who protects fishing boats, above the high-water mark, Tomari-koro Kamui at harbours, and Chiwash-koro Kamui at river mouths. *Nusa* and single *inau* are offered to oak and other trees, and also to places in the mountains where *kamui* are believed to reside.¹

¹ There were many more places than those mentioned by Munro where single *inau* or groups of *inau* were erected and rites were performed. Places associated with each family were the skinning place, the bone dump, the place for discarding animal skins, the place for preparing fish, and the source of drinking water. There were also places where *inau* were erected communally. One of these for the local group was *petorun nusa*, near the salmon spawning beds, and another was the *nusa-san* at the mountain hut which was the headquarters of a group of hunters.—H.W.

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Deity.¹ It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.² Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisci-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

¹ See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1.

² Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

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778 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering
 776 by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is
 532 begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.

773 It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such
 a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot
 from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically
 denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father,
 and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship
 repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred
 wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original
 method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would
 apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose
 hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner
 776 till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,¹ or taking flight (*hopun-*
 532 *ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by
 [789] the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby con-
 [171] flagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui,
 was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient
 is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the
 soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of
inau. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experi-
 -enced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his
 776 position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indi-
 552 cates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men
 532 or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles
 he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or
 Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;² these
 may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from
 Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining
 (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and
 other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro
 Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post
 about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-

¹ There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the
 bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference
 between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*iwakte*.—B.Z.S.

² *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *maken* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor,
An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar, Tokyo, 193).—N.G.M.

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guard attached to represent a heart. At Pihoro, I was told, the heart of this *kamui* is taken from the hearth.

Chisei-koro Kamui receives every consideration as the representative of Shiramba Kamui; he is formally saluted by every male visitor who enters the house, and on festal occasions is worshipped with prayer and libations oftener than are the *kamui* outside. He is also supplicated in time of trouble, but always after Kamui Fuchi, and less than Nusa-koro Kamui whose soul *nusa* also permits direct appeal to Shiramba Kamui. He is, it seems, chiefly responsible for the house and its contents, which are considered to be gifts from Shiramba Kamui, and is what he is described as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi on his first introduction, the House-head-protecting Personal Kamui (Kenru-sopa-kopunkine-kunni). At Nibutani he is revered as a *pase kamui*.

Shutu Inau Kamui

As noted previously the *shutu inau* have been described as winged *inau*, but in order to make the distinction clear the word *shutu* has been retained for the *shutu inau kamui*. The absence of wings on Chisei-koro Kamui is all that distinguishes him from hand-made *kamui* of winged *inau* form. These *kamui* differ from the less potent winged *inau* chiefly in that they wear a garment of curled shavings on their shoulders. *Inau* as such have only one tassel, if any, the double tassel is what distinguishes the winged *inau kamui* from them. These *kamui* are mostly male, and as a rule are armed with a spear or sword of mugwort. Conserving *ramai* obtained from the important *kamui*, and being armed, these *kamui* are more powerful than *inau*, and able to defeat the evil spirits which the Ainu regard as responsible for most of their misfortunes. Though representing to some extent the important *kamui* they are believed to act independently, and therefore arouse feelings of awe which increase in proportion to belief in their powers.

There is a rite to thank all *kamui* for their help and send them home when their presence is no longer needed—a form of honourable leave-taking. This will be called 'ritual dismissal'. The most reverent of all dismissals is that performed at the ceremonial killing of the sacred bear, and is called *kamui iomande*. That for Chisei-koro Kamui and most other *kamui*, including those which have only a temporary function, is called rising up to the sky (*hopun-ire*), and is a reward for defeating the evil spirits. First there should be

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- 778 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering
 776 of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of
 782 curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small-
 • 796 winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven
inau between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred
 window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*.
 The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with
 its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the
 important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty
 substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used
 [273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it
 might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the
kamui might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

- [755] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it
 [761] has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the
kamui is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed
 immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allow-
 ance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*.
 [763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed
 to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given
 ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying
 person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man
 or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal
 for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a
 case full honours were accorded.

- 778 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII,
 776 fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour
 532 and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the
 conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine
 wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mug-
 wort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially
 concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked ex-
 cept in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Suc-
 cess (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for
 success in hunting and fishing.

- The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material
 [824] used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of
 effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*)
 the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to
 some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

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inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird cherry (*hikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikaturye) Kamui. It is still sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV, fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu inau kamui* is said locally to be more for general protection or for such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one of willow be insufficient.

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a person's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is unconscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other *shutu inau kamui*, with one difference: the heart is taken not from the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui* on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

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and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any *kamui*, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one backward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or, in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the *kamui* without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy (Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the intensity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of his effigy. That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as described above. One authority says that there should be four pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dismissal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusa-koro Kamui whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-nina Kamui was in danger of being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun

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773 Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

778 Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifunarep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

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[776] A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to *Ramat-tak Kamui*, is called *Ifunara Kamui* and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

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The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. Together they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of *Ikema Kamui*, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance. Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

V

HEARTH AND HOME

THE AINU house is commonly called *chuset*, but as we have seen, the ancient name was *kenru*. The house of the Ainu was a place for worship of the *kamui* almost as much as a home. The Ainu seem never to have had temples. The nearest thing to such was the house of the village chief, *sapane-guru*.¹ This was much larger than other houses and was often resorted to on great occasions such as a Bear Festival. I am told that in this district when several families had reared captured bear cubs for sacrifice it was not unusual for all to be included in one celebration at the house of the chief, though this was not an invariable rule.² Such a house might hold more than a hundred persons when crowded together. In times of emergency or communal anxiety special services of supplication might be held there, but as a rule every man's house was his temple, enshrining the hearth-fire sacred to *Kamui Fuchi*.

Immediately outside, the *ramat* of the *kamui* at the *inu* fences, already described, conferred protection and help on those who served them. Moreover, the house and its contents were believed to be permeated by *ramat* from *Shiramba Kamui*, and because of this it was necessary to perform rites of exorcism to make sure that no evil spirits were lurking about it (see Chapter VI).

¹ The title, which means 'superior person', was given to the chief of a village district (*kotan*). The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless he was incapable or otherwise objectionable. In the old days an unsatisfactory chief might be killed if he did not mend his ways. —N.G.M.

² The salmon ceremony was held in the chief's house. The cult group consisted of the male householders of the locality. The bear ceremony was usually held in each hunter's house in turn. —H.W.

HEARTH AND HOME

evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where mischievous spirits might lurk.

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house. Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abé-shotki*), literally fire-bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C).

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennui-kesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sunshine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's brother.

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukregguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatté Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four—a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not

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from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekuru has seen elders emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

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Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground, the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abc-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*¹ *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

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The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi, and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder, before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

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Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

¹ Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

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while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchu*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoiibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.¹

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

¹ The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-korpe* and *huchi-korpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

VI

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

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• 796
354 THE FIRST consideration in building a new house is the location of the hearth, which must be free from contamination by evil spirits. Nowadays two rites are performed to ensure this, but it may be that in former days only one was thought necessary. My chief informant for these two rites, the house-building rite and the purification, is Kotan-pira, an elder of high repute in such matters. It refers to the Saru district; accounts from elsewhere show slight variations.

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[778] On the east side of the intended site, at the place where the sacred fences will be erected, a group of four winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* is set up and a prayer is said to Shiramba Kamui. Three posts are cut from living wood, green boughs or saplings, and are driven into the ground on the spot where the hearth will be and are tied at the top to form a rough tripod. This tripod, known as the house image (*kenru* or *chisei inoka*) is an important and puzzling feature which is never omitted (Pl. XXX, fig. 3). It may perhaps be a survival from the tent, the home of the Ainu in a former nomadic state, and it may be connected with the mode of construction of the Ainu roof as described in Chapter V.

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[782] To the apex of the tripod is fixed a simple pot-hook made from a forked branch. In no variant of the ceremony that I have seen has a pot ever been hung from the hook. After a prayer to Kamui Fuchi three pieces of glowing wood from the hearth of the householder's old house are placed beneath the tripod with the glowing ends pointing east. If the house is for a couple who have not had one before, the embers should be taken from the house of the man's

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father or some other suitable elder. This new fire must not be allowed to die out.

The following offerings should be made: at the site of the chaff-thrown *nusa* four small winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau*; at that of the soul *nusa* the same, and at that of Hash-*inau*-uk Kamui four bush (*hash*) *inau*. Often four small winged *inau* are set up for Pet-Orun Kamui, and at the seaside, where fishing and the protection of fishermen and their boats are important, a *nusa* may be set up for Masara-koro Kamui, the spirit possessor of the shore just above high tide mark.

At his soul *nusa* Shiramba Kamui is asked to send a dream to the officiating elder. Kamui Fuchi is also appealed to and sometimes the other two 'important' *kamui* as well.¹ An elder usually allows a week to pass, during which he watches out for dreams. If there is no dream it is a good augury; if there is a bad dream—and in this connection a dream of animals, of angry scenes, or of water overflowing the site, is bad—the rite of purification (*epiru*) must be performed. In the days before the Japanese administration a new site would be selected, but today this is not often available. If, therefore, evil spirits are in possession of the site and there is no alternative, they must be driven away, and this is achieved by the purification ceremony. It seems probable that nowadays purification may be carried out as a matter of routine, even if there has been no bad augury; at any rate it is very commonly performed.

For the purification ceremony the *shutu inau kamui* called Chikube-ni Kamui, described above (Chapter IV), is made and, after prayer to Shiramba Kamui, Chikube-ni Kamui is invoked and told there is an evil spirit, and he is asked to oust it. Then the ceremony of purification by brushing out evil magic (*ukakik*) is undertaken. Two elders enter the lists against the invisible foe. One takes Chikube-ni Kamui in his right hand and a small branch of the *chikube* tree in his left, while his companion takes a branch of the same tree in each hand. Starting at the position of the future sacred window they walk slowly round the site in opposite directions, beating vigorously and uttering expostulations. The main posts of the house must be safeguarded, so the elders stop at each corner and redouble their efforts. They say no prayers but simply

¹ It is not clear whether these *nusa* are set up at the new plot or whether the offerings of *inau* referred to here are made at the *inau* fence of the old house. But it is probable that the latter is implied.—B.Z.S.

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342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
 789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
 354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.¹ Chikube-ni Kamui is then
 796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the
 house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established.
 He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted.
 Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are
 usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way
 Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain
 occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
 796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
 778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
 776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives
 782 a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then
 removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has
 returned to the god who gave it, and residual *matwe*² will be
 gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of
 all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil
 spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer
 required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms,
 flattery being a means of ingratiating. Chikube-ni Kamui is ad-
 dressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Opera-
 ting on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked
 with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by
 them, their *matwe* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted
 after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on
 dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed.
 Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offer-
 ings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

¹ In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, pre-
 viously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before
 the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits
 who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from con-
 [114] tamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has
 been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the
 text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought
 the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after sub-
 sequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second
 having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

[192] ² *Matwe* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated
 as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual
 power.—N.G.M.

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In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic odour (*sekusa mawo eseremak koro*).

After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This deprivation is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, because the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is not considered necessary for their worship.

Inau-korashkoro means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible.

Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to *Kamui Fuchi*, burns it on the hearth and beseeches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer.

Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

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273 the mortar and the rest mixed unground with the meal. About six pounds of the mixture are boiled to the consistency of porridge, poured into a long shallow trough, and when cooled to about blood heat mixed thoroughly with the yeast.

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415 A tub (*poroshintoko*) about three feet in diameter and more in height, usually lacquered outside and provided with a lid, is the usual vat, and sometimes two of these are used in case fermentation in one should fail. The mixture of boiled millet and yeast, amounting to about ten pounds, is poured into the vat while warm and enough water stirred in to make it quite thin. The tub, which is placed to the south of the sacred window, rests on a layer of millet chaff about six inches deep and is kept in position with folded mats. Before the lid is closed live embers from the hearth are put in. The tub was formerly covered with deer skins, but garments have been substituted. It is further protected by the skull of an albatross, cormorant, or good fox, which has been taken to Kamui Fuchi for her blessing. This is one of the spirit helpers mentioned above (p. 23). Sometimes swallow-wort is chewed and spat round the tub, or a piece is put on top, and sometimes a sickle is placed to frighten any evil spirits that may be hovering round. A band of twisted shavings, two tied together and called *e-ukut inau*, is put round the tub, though in some places not till after the straining process. Sometimes tassels of curled shavings are hung from the band.

Every day for about a week the tub is opened and the contents are tested. On the second day about double the quantity of mixed porridge and yeast, with water in proportion, is added, and the rest on successive days according to how the fermentation is progressing. Should it become prematurely sour some of the wrappings are removed. It is left for another week or more and is then strained.

776 Straining (*inumba*) is a ceremonial affair with a special ritual.
342 Before it begins, six beer-straining *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 3) are made.
273 Four of them are set up, one at each corner of the hearth, a fresh backward-shaven *inau* is given to Kamui Fuchi, and in a short prayer she is asked to protect the brew during straining and to bless it for the good of all. After the straining these four *inau* are
778 given some of the lees in their mouths and, after the ceremony, are
796 burnt. The two other *inau* are assigned to the guardian spirits of
[782] the door.

000 At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance
HOUSE-BUILDING RITES which goes

with the straining while my cinema expert filmed it; it was a ritual survival from happier times. The straining is done through a shallow basket (*inumba ichari*). The lees (*shirari*) are sometimes used again, with a little of the mixture of boiled millet and yeast and some water, to make a sort of small beer. Part of the lees is washed in the strainer and compressed till it is fairly dry. It is then called dry lees (*sat shirari*), and ought to be nutritious, but it is not very palatable and is mostly used as an offering to the evil spirits. It is supposed not only to be good enough for them but to delude them into taking it instead of grabbing the good moist (*pekuru*) lees, which contain some of the sacred brew. The straining does not properly filter the beer. Some of the millet remains suspended and gives it a milky appearance, and there is a slight deposit at the bottom of the cup. This and the moist lees are considered good, and are given to the beer-straining *inau*. The two placed on each side of the door also get their share, or rather the *kamui* get it through them.

Another ceremony which must be performed before the actual house-warming is the lighting of the new fire on the hearth. Formerly this was always done with the fire-drill. I was told that the bow-drill was once in common use but never saw one. When drilling was revived for my benefit, a thong-drill was used. A hempen cord with a wooden handle at each end was wound two or three times round the upright stock, which was rotated by pulling the handles alternately. At the same time the stock was pressed down into the hole cut in the wooden 'hearth' by means of an inverted cup in which it was free to rotate. Two persons were engaged, one to pull and one to press on the cup, and fire was produced within two minutes.

The new fire is made by the father or paternal uncle of the incoming occupant, if alive and not too far away. Before leaving his own house the officiant offers a backward-shaven *inau* and prays to the Kiyenne Kamui (the elder *kamui*). This is a title for those ancestors, including Kamui Fuchi, who were supposed to be within reach of the hearth. But in the preliminary prayer, dictated to me, Kamui Fuchi alone was addressed, the title appearing only in the prayer said after the fire had been kindled, when she herself was addressed as Peure (new) Kamui Fuchi, i.e. newly awakened by the fire-drill. The omission of the prayer to the ancestors in the first version I heard surprised me, but on enquiry I was told that it had

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been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors is omitted.

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Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony, and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat, the female spirit of the house, represented by the *chisei-koro inau*.¹

[776]

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth. She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure) Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children who will grow up strong and well.

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Enconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon employed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used. An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming, and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute. Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast consisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.²

¹ This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not be confused with *Chisei-koro Kamui*. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

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² At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers) a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distributed at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*, divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shito*) were made, besides its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

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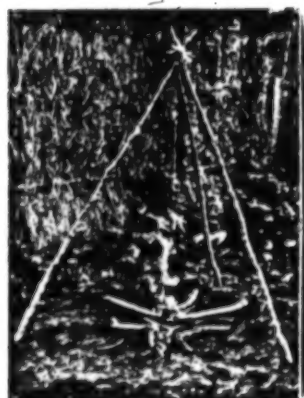
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Fig. 1. House with porch, south side. Fig. 2. Store house. Fig. 3. Tripod (*chisi inaka*) for purification of new house site.

PLATE XXX. HOUSE, STOREHOUSE AND CEREMONIAL TRIPOD.

[p 78, (N)]

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and consoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekoguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs¹ on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

¹ This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

776 at the fence of the plentiful *inau*, but his *inau* is set up at the soul
 782 *nusa* or at that of Hash-*inau-uk* Kamui.

778 Hai-*o-pira* Kamui, the sword of the sword-fish, is also given
 184 libation by many Ainu in this district. In the north an *inau* is set
 up for him, but here he gets only thanks and beer.

Two more local spirits complete this list, though others are recognized and given the same consideration in neighbouring villages. These are Mopet-un Kamui, which is the name of a place, and Chikap-ohi-un Kamui, the name of a spot where a fabulous bird called *Furi* lived. This is supposed to have been a monstrous kind of eagle, elsewhere regarded as a man-eater, but here as friendly and helpful. In prayer these spirits are all called *Kamui Ekashi*, or divine ancestor; this may be evidence of ancestor-worship or merely of a wish to flatter them.

• 796 We now come to an important rite, the ritual salutation (*pase*
 776 *ongami*) of Metot-ush Kamui, whose *ramat* is incarnated in the
 778 bear. It must be noted that the ritual dismissal of the bear, the
 576 well-known Bear Ceremony, is the most impressive of all Ainu
 782 ceremonies.¹ In the plentiful *inau* fence are four large ancestral
inau specially devoted to this *kamui*, and two *inau* with bodies and
 twisted shavings. All the *inau* at this fence are slightly higher than
 those at the soul *nusa* and that of Hash-*inau-uk* Kamui, and those
 again slightly higher than those of Nusa-koro Kamui. The reason
 for this is not clear; it does not indicate any intrinsic superiority
 of the *kamui* concerned, but the importance of the occasion, the
 ritual salutation.

For this rite the cup is filled to overflowing and the winged libation wand bearing the ancestral mark (*ekashi itokpa*) of the host is alone employed. The rite is performed publicly (*use ongami*) but with deep emotion, and forms the prelude to rites of a more secret character. I have been unable to get full information about these, but have been reliably told that at least four *kamui* are worshipped in secret at the second important salutation (*pase ongami*). These are Metot-ush Kamui again (but this time esoterically), the Eagle-owl, the 'Good Fox', and the Divine Wife, Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat (Woman above the clouds).

The Ainu, in this district at least, consider the special knowledge

[114] ¹ Unfortunately, Munro's account of this ceremony has never been received, but he sent a film which was shown at the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 10th, 1933. (See Appendix II).—B.Z.S.

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.¹ The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

¹ *Pase ongami shine ekashi shimrit uho-horo* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi opoka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

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THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

- 796 host holds out the cup to be filled, usually by his wife. He does not
782 drink it, but raises it in salutation and passes it across to his *vis-d-*
273 *vis* in the double row of male guests. The latter receives it, raises
576 it in salutation, drinks from it and hands it to the man sitting next
the host. He has it filled and follows the host's example. Thus the
cup passes in zigzag fashion down the line. Two cups are used if
the line is long. When one row has been served the other is served
in the same way.

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

cedure, *inau etaye* (pulling up) recalls the time when houses had an earthen floor into which it was stuck. Next, the householder or an officiating relative offers two of the backward-shaven *inau* as a burnt offering to Kamui Fuchi, giving her a ritual salutation in which he is joined by all the male guests. Not till after the feast is a burnt offering of food made.

The serving of the viands is called *isapir*, a word which has come to be used for the feast itself, properly called *Shinurapa iwai*.¹ All food served must either be eaten or be taken away by the guests in their clothes. Nothing must be left in sight. The explanation given is that Kamui Fuchi would be displeased if her bounty were not appreciated, and that the spirits of the dead like to see the good things disposed of.

When the meal is finished and all is cleared away, the food reserved for the service outside the house to the departed spirits is brought to the head of the hearth. Together with the trays of viands is one with a bundle or two of tobacco leaves. On another tray is an empty cup (*tuki*) with a libation wand and four backward-shaven *inau*.

The following is the order of the ceremony as performed in the Saru district and, I am told, with little variation in others. The householder or his deputy, wearing a white embroidered coat and his ceremonial sword, salutes Kamui Fuchi and places on the edge of the fire, as a burnt offering, small pieces of the things to be given to the ancestral spirits outside. Out of reverence for Kamui Fuchi these offerings for the spirits of the dead are not put in the centre of the hearth. He then prays to her, using her name Iresu Kamui, saying that offerings of food and wine are about to be made outside, and asking her favour for the proceedings and for the house and all therein.

He then rises and goes to the opposite side of the hearth where a male relative hands him the tray with the empty cup, the libation wand and the backward-shaven *inau* upon it. It should be mentioned that utensils used for this ceremony should be without any kind of decoration.

¹ The word *inau* is an ancient Japanese word, and may have been borrowed by the Ainu. But they tell me that it occurs in their old traditions and that they have no other word for what in England was called a wake. The Japanese word *kami* (deity) has been supposed to be the origin of the Ainu *kami*, but the latter seems to be an ancient Ainu word. My belief is that such words indicate a closer connection between ancient Ainu and Japanese than has been realized.

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- 796 THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS
 769 kind of decoration. He waits till the women are ready with the
 782 other trays and then a small procession moves to the entrance. First goes the housewife carrying a vessel with a spout, filled with beer drawn from one of the tubs. She is followed by her mother-in-law, her mother, or an aunt, with a tray of 'moist' and 'dry' lees and tobacco. Then come female relatives with the viands already mentioned, and a young woman with an ordinary and a sacred mat, and lastly the householder. All move very slowly, with bodies bent.
- [576] On reaching the doorway each woman makes a salutation by slightly swinging the tray which she holds with both hands, first to the left then to the right and then upwards, while still stooping.
- [576] She thus salutes the guardians of the doorway in the proper order.
- [578] We have already seen that before the ceremony two beer-straining winged *inau* had been set up for them and left there. This salutation seems another indication that the spirits of the doorway are linked with the ancestral cult. The procession moves slowly by the north side of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*. Here elders of high repute are known to have been buried, and the site, or rather one a few feet to the north-west of it, is considered most appropriate for the ceremony. The young woman spreads an ordinary mat and lays the sacred one upon it. The other women place their trays on the mat, leaving a space on the north for the householder. He sits down; his wife kneels beside him and the other women kneel in order. The householder offers prayers and leads the service, women not being allowed to address the *kamui*. No other man may approach the spot, and it may be regarded as a special service by the women. Sometimes many of them perform it in succession. The householder performs the ritual salutation, and the women perform their own reverent salutation (*raimik*). The householder then plants the four backward-shaven *inau* in a row from north to south. He gives them some drops of beer as a libation and then makes his first prayer to the ancestors, holding the cup with the libation wand pointing towards the *inau* and stroking it with his right hand. The prayer is long and of the usual type. He asks the ancestors for welfare in the new house, and that they will give and watch over many healthy children. He tells them that he is offering beer, tobacco, cakes, lees, etc., and prays that his halting and imperfect speech may be rendered more fitting by the libation wand as messenger of Iresu Kamui. Before the prayer is quite finished he pauses to give a few more drops of beer to the *inau*. After the

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prayer he drops a little on his headband and sword. He then drinks a sip and passes the cup to his wife. From a cup of heaped up lees moistened with beer he places a little on the 'mouth' of each *inau*, using the libation wand. In a short prayer he tells the spirits what he has done, after which he deposits tiny portions of the offerings on the ground near the *inau*. Lastly he makes a queer little speech, ostensibly to the ancestors, but generally regarded as intended for any evil spirits who might intrude. Before making the speech he takes some dry lees in his hand, and while and after speaking sprinkles them about. All the elders whom I questioned explained the practice by saying that it both deceives and placates envious spirits.

We saw that the householder, after taking a sip of beer, hands the cup to his wife. She swings it slightly upward, draws her right hand across her lip in salutation, and gives drops of beer to the four *inau* and the ground at their feet. She again swings the cup, salutes in the same way, takes a sip and hands the cup to the next woman. She and the other near female relatives do the same and the cup is returned to the householder, who may take another sip. He gives the cup to his wife and returns to the hearth. There a fresh cup is brought to him and he takes a couple of mouthfuls. He then makes a salutation, tells Kamui Fuchi that he has obeyed her command, takes one of the two remaining backward-shaven *inau* from the hearth and puts it in the fire. At this all the men make the ritual salutation. The last *inau* remains till the end of the festivities which follow the ceremony.

Meanwhile the women at the *nusa* continue the offerings to the ancestral spirits. When the householder leaves, his wife takes his place. When she receives the cup from him she may take another sip, but pours the rest of the contents on the ground. Now the cup is filled afresh for each woman. Ainu women drink little, and on occasions such as this each one takes a sip and pours the rest into a small receptacle (*shintoko-po*) for her husband to drink later on.

The housewife offers food and tobacco to the ancestral spirits, placing them on the ground near the *inau*, and afterwards sprinkles dry lees. There is no prayer, but a woman may call the name of a matrilineal ancestress should she choose to do so. A few near relatives of the housewife, perhaps four or five, take her place in turn and perform the same rite. Those who are less closely related

778 THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

- 796 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the
 769 ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women
 782 make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into
 the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects
 of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but
 the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among
 [789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *hamui* have
 [776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating
 them ensures health and longevity.

[184] At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a back-
 ward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set
 up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an
 ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is
 curious.

The Festivities

- 769 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from
 574 almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by
 782 most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not
 [776] quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a
 good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given
 a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having
 performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired
 by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told
 that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded
 in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main
 services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intend-
 ing to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui
 Fuchi, and all present do the same.

- [778]
 [532] The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in
 carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again
 placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to
 a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The
 769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his
 574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already
 782 been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder through-
 out the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking
 887 (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a res-
 ponsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

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273 THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS
574 drink much, form a circle round the lid of a large beer-container
769 and have a good time singing *upopo*.¹ This is a kind of round or
[533] canon, a voice or voices starting to repeat the theme before it is
finished while others carry it on. This anticipation of the fugue is
very interesting. The women thoroughly enjoy themselves and
some of the voices are beautiful. Their delight extends to the dance,
both affording a change from the drudgery of life with freedom of
emotional expression in the rhythm. The *upopo* is sometimes both
song and dance, and other dances have sometimes a line or two of
song or some syllables to aid vocalization. There is quite a reper-
toire of dances, and while *taphara* go on at the upper end of the
room the women and younger men may dance round dances
(*rimse*) round the lid of the beer-container and eventually round
the hearth. The round dance is always danced sun-wise; it is wrong
and unlucky to dance in the opposite direction. It is not only the
young who take part in the dancing round the fire; one may see
men and women of 70 or 80 taking part with evident enjoy-
ment. Dancing may go on till the small hours of the morning
but the crowd has thinned out before then.

• 796 Towards the end of the proceedings there are some ceremonial
769 observances. One is raising the beer-container (*uko shintoko raye*).
574 The contents of the large container are mostly poured into a smaller
273 one, which is raised by a young man and presented to the con-
887 troller. He takes two bunches of twisted shavings, whirls them
round in the vessel from right to left and then winds them round
his neck or ties them to his headband. He changes place with the
householder, takes an almost empty cup and points a libation wand
with a few drops of beer on it in the direction of the mischievous
spirit, to which he makes a hypocritical address. He then pretends
[782] to drink up the contents of the empty cup. With a cup filled by
the housewife he then offers a libation to Chisei-koro Kamui, utter-
ing a long prayer of thanks and repeated request to guard the house
and promote the welfare of all therein now and in the future. He
does not drink from this cup but gives it to the householder, and
the process of passing drink along the rows continues. Formerly

¹ Many *upopo* consist of a single phrase; some contain several, but the sense is seldom fully apparent. An example is *chupha wa hamui ran wa niteh ha crew, iwai atui isam ho tanne mau turi*. This may be translated, I hope not too freely: 'From the east the god descends, alighting on the tree-tops. From the shore a zephyr reaches out along the many seas.' The word I have translated as 'many', *iwai*, means 'six', but I think it may be so rendered.—N.G.M.

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 the housewife was given the same kind of twisted shavings, also
 dipped in the beer, but this is not often done today.

All departing guests perform the ritual salutation. Those who remain form a small double row at the head of the hearth, like that before the ceremony began. The beer-container from the head of the hearth, still holding a little beer, is replaced on the sacred mat. It is then customary for those of the women who have remained at the lower end of the room to perform a farewell dance. This is traditionally the last dance at all festivals. It is called *hararaki*, or doing *harara*, because it is always accompanied by the sound rr-rr-rr, which represents the whirr of birds taking to flight. The dance is mimetic. Each performer, holding the ends of her sleeves between her fingers and palms, imitates the flapping of wings, swaying her body so as to move her outstretched arms alternately up and down. It is obviously intended to represent a flock of birds; what birds? Some whom I have questioned recognize imitation of birds without curiosity as to their kind. It seemed to me possible, however, that it represented the departure of the souls in the guise of birds at the end of the feast, and when I mentioned this to Nisukreguru and asked him to recall any bird which rose to flight in this manner, he suggested wild geese. He also recalled instances in the old legends of souls taking the form of birds after death. This was in answer to a question but, though leading questions must be used discreetly if at all, the instances immediately cited were quite convincing. I should add that at festivals this dance is performed only at the end, though it is sometimes danced for amusement at other times. At the Bear Festival, however, the elders dance the *tapkara* as a farewell to the departing spirit of the bear.

When the large beer-container is empty it is removed to the north-east corner; the last backward-shaven *inau* is burnt, and the sacred mats are deposited near the wall on the north. There, too, the *chisei-koro inau* comes to its final resting place, being stuck high up in the thatch of the wall.

A few friends cluster round the hearth listening to tales of olden times. There are still some Ainu who are fairly conversant with the sagas and legends, and whose recitations, with emphatic taps on the hearth-frame, invite eager attention. Engrossed in tales of the past, they fail to notice the passage of time. I have called at five o'clock on a December morning, and several times later, to find a

EXORCISM

755 Here we are chiefly concerned with proceedings intended to repel or expel evil spirits threatening or inflicting serious maladies. In the case of difficult childbirth or any grave malady members of the village throng the dwelling, the elders busy with magico-religious expedients, while all express sympathy with the sufferers. [789] I am told that in desperate cases old and reeking garments are [822] waved to drive away evil spirits, and that the accumulated *Ainu rak*, the odour of the unwashed, helps to repel them.

● 796 A public manifestation of sympathy and helpfulness, *ukaobiuki*, characteristic of the Ainu, is a dancing procession called *niwen-horipa*. When there is some untoward or tragic happening such as 789 a death by accident or the burning of a house, the important *kamui* 731 are invoked and a procession is formed and moves towards the spot, 535 the men in front carrying swords, the women walking behind. At each step the men alternately stretch and bend the arm, holding the sword vertically, and call out 'wo-o-o pfui!' The women also stretch the right arm forward and bend it, exclaiming 'fusa!' The sufferers await the procession, and when it arrives at the place of the affliction it is usual to march round it three times, the men striking out with their swords. Then a double line is formed with the sufferers in one rank and sympathetic visitors in another, and the procession moves up to a small *nusa* where short prayers are said. The sufferers are then cleared of any evil influence that may remain, by being stroked from above downwards with the swords. Individual greetings and condolences are then said. Although the *niwen horipa* is fading out in the north where the Ainu population is sparse, in the south groups of Ainu often come many miles to take part in the ceremony and sympathize with the sufferers.

755 The word *uepotara*, which I have rendered 'exorcism', but which according to Batchelor implies 'solicitude', is applied in practice to a combination of measures used in the treatment of the sick. In the first example to be given a whole battery is brought to bear upon [115] the patient. I was first told of it by Kotanpira Ekashi, perhaps my best informant, but I saw it in 1933 and again about a year later. [114] The account given of this, and the following example, is recorded from the method employed by Isonoash Ekashi, who, though less learned, is well accustomed to these rituals. His prayers and invocations are less classical than those of my other informants, but those I have translated have been approved by independent Ainu to whom I recited them.

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
 224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was, strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-love talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
 272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
 796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's
 782 head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed ritually.

784 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
 263 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).
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226 Hunting the Swordfish

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry between the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
 782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
 789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners should they become lost.

184 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
114 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern districts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him
532 at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau*
[115] stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it
[769] would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
796 join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kin-
[601] ship terms.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other *kamui* were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it. Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter III, pp. 37-8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*) is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. . . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony—actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal. Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate that his description of it should have been lost. The bear cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing the same patrilineage with food.

Kotan has been translated 'village' when the local settlement only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult of the eagle owl, known as *Kotan-koro Kamui* (Village-Owning Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He is sometimes referred to as *Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui* (Village-Owning Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

APPENDIX II: The Bear Ceremony

I have taken the following account of the Bear Ceremony from captions of the film made by Munro circa 1931.—B.Z.S.

AS among many other peoples of the Arctic and sub-Arctic, the Ainu show great reverence to all animal remains. Animals were ceremonially butchered, prayers were made to their skulls and gifts were offered to them so that their spirits might be pleased and return in physical form to be hunted again. All animals were treated in this respectful way, but greatest reverence was paid to the bear, which was captured as a cub and kept alive in a wooden cage for some years before being ceremonially slain. Munro does not state how often this sacrifice was made, but I think only one cub was reared in a village at a time.¹ The ceremony was held at the best house in the village, and this would have been the house of the *kotan* chief. After the sacrifice, there is little doubt that efforts would be made to capture another cub to rear for the next ceremony, when the cub had grown to a suitable size. The caged bear was treated with the respect due to a god (*hamui*).

Before the ritual begins, special food must be prepared. Millet is pounded into flour from which the women make special dumplings—large ones for the god and spirit relatives and smaller ones for Ainu guests. They will perforate these in the centre and thread them on sticks. They will also make small round cakes which will be thrown like confetti.

The day before the main ceremony, friends gather at the house of the festival host, usually bringing food for the occasion. First, Kamui Fuchi is given offerings at the hearth, and the people ask for her approval and protection. Then, other household deities are revered, and the gods outside the house are solicited in turn. Outside the sacred window, facing east, stand fences supporting *inau*, which are special offerings to the gods and also serve as a means of communication with them. In gala dress and head-band of sacred curled shavings, the elder offers libations to the gods. The house where the ceremony is held is a good typical Ainu dwelling.

¹ This was the normal practice, but if several cubs had been captured, they might all be sacrificed at the same time, and the ceremony for them all would be held at the house of the *kotan* chief.

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APPENDIX II

796 dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the
 782 ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offer-
 [824] ings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The
 elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to
 come and bless the festival with their presence.

[177] Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are
 [415] set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang
 [778] ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet
 [353] cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the
 [411] Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be
 raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling,
 796 the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Out-
 825 side the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have
 782 gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually,
 [574] is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It
 has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its cap-
 tivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the
 bear *hamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and
 secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage
 through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than
 [824] ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu
 [983] believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run
 [533] about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil
 influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly ad-
 hered to.

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot
 specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no
 harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last
 in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early
 dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-
 pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from
 the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does
 not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit.
 The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over
 the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys.
 The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two
 poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance
 with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, per-
 haps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding
 death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the
 body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

APPENDIX II

pliments, assurances and libations. Then skinning and dividing the body proceed according to strict rules of traditional ritual. The Ainu reverently drink the blood of the bear, calling it divine medicine.

Cushioned on the skin, with body removed, the head of the bear is believed still to attract the lingering spirit. Gestures of gratitude are made and praise and libations are offered, while the sacred fire burns at the place of the rendezvous to which it is hoped will come the World Spirit of the Ainu, the 'Holder of Space' and source of all life on earth. Here are placed the cups that had held the blood. During the feast etiquette forbids one who receives the cup just filled to drink it. He makes the gesture of reverence and passes it to the person opposite. An offering is also made to the ancestors. The women, too, make offerings to their matrilineal forebears (see Ch. VIII, Shinurapa).

After this reverent ritual, the people enjoy themselves. Small millet balls are thrown and scrambled for because they bring luck through intimate association with the bear *kamui*. School children play at tug of war. The women dance at the place of the Great Offering. The spirits and gods are present as auspicious guests, and everything must be done to please and entertain them. Ceremonial swords are carried to guard against evil spirits.

The final feast is held in the large house. Near the sacred East window lies the head of the bear with its lingering soul as chief guest of the feast. Food is set in front of it so that virtue may be acquired and passed on to those who eat it.

Then the 'sacred flesh' is distributed. The Wine-Controller, who sits beside the head of the god and opposite the large vessel of liquor, is a responsible official who gets a goodly portion. Ordinary guests receive small pieces of food, reverently taken in both hands. The feast includes millet beer and soon the Elders and guests begin to feel its effect. Then men dance, and after a while the women join in.

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184 northern part of the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk, and in the Tymv Valley, as a result of their greater remoteness and poorer circumstances, as well as their smaller and less suitable dwellings, the bear festival has remained far behind the development that it reached among their fellow-tribesmen on the Amur, where on such occasions inhabitants of various, sometimes even remote villages flock together, and animated life and activity prevail among them, and that therefore it does not have nearly as much social significance among the former as among the latter.

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[113] /735/ For the purpose of comparison let us now cast a glance at the bear festival of the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso /Yesso/. Isolated reports about it reach back to the seventeenth century and in the Japanese literature perhaps even much further. Detailed accounts of the whole festival have been given by Dr. B. Scheube with regard to the Ainu of Jesso (1) and by Messrs. Rudanofskij (2)

1. Dr. B. Scheube, "Bärenkultus und Bärenfeste der Aino /The Bear Cult and Bear Festival of the Ainu/" (Das Ausland, 1881, No. 16, pp. 303-308, from the Mittheil. der deutsch. Gesellsch. für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1880, No. 22.

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[113] 2. See P. Tikhmenov", Istor. obozr. obraz. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii /Historical Review of the Founding of the Russo-American Company/, St. Petersburg, 1863, Pt. II, pp. 125-127.

and Busse (3) with regard to those of Sakhalin. The former attended

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[113] 3. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 54-57.

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the festival in the little village of Kunnui located on Vulkan Bay, and the latter observed it in the village of Ssussujä, which lies on the river of the same name emptying into Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay.

Although the Ainu confer upon the bear the epithet "god," in that they call it Kimui-Kamui, or, according to Siebold, Hokjok-Kamui (4), and although they regard it, according to

4 Scheube, loc. cit.. Siebold, Aardr. - en volkenk. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnological Explanations to the Discoveries of Van Vries/, p. 110.

Dobrotworskij, as a son of the god of the mountains and forest or wilderness: (Ainu nuburi-kamui (5) and treat it with superstitious

5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/," supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imper. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, p. 41.

fear and veneration, this does not in the least prevent them from killing and eating it -- but in doing so certain traditional customs and formalities must be observed in order to rid themselves of guilt and to avoid the revenge of its manes. Dr. Scheube, to be sure, thinks that the motive for both the bear festival (jomante) of the Ainu (6) and the fattening of the young bear preceding it is expiation,

6. According to Mamia Rinsô, among the Ainu of Jesso the bear festival is called omsia. C. Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 189, 203.

which is offered to the entire race of bears for the misdeed committed against it by them, but I cannot agree with this opinion

at all. In view of the utilitarian viewpoint toward everything, which is characteristic of the Ainu, too, I am more inclined to

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[182] believe that, governed by fear and superstition, they see in it
[181] merely a means of exploiting the bear quietly and with impunity.
[171] The view on which the bear festival rests therefore seems to me
to be exactly the same among the Ainu as among the Gilyak, and
the customary practices of both peoples in connection with it corre-
spond in their basic features.

796 The Japanese Kannemon reports in his "Jeso-ki" that, if the
231 Ainu find a bear cub, they bring it home, where it is suckled by
152 the wife of the finder (7) -- a story that sounds very improbable,

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7 Titsingh, "Jeso-ki ou description de
l'île d'Yesso, composée par Kannemon en
1652 /Jeso-ki, or Description of the Island
of Yesso, written by Kannemon in 1652/"
(Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV,
Paris, 1814, p. 154). Also Klaproth, San
kokf tsou ran to sets, ou aperçu général des
trois royaumes /San'kokf tsou ran to sets, or
General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/,
Paris, 1832, p. 236.

though at the bear festival in Kunnui Scheube saw such a bear wet-
nurse, who sat sadly to one side and now and then even burst into
tears. To be sure, it seemed to him that her sadness was not feigned
[182] and, say, merely prescribed by the rules of the festival, but was
[783] actually prompted by the fate of her foster child, but then later she
participated actively in the dances customary at the festival, in fact
even /736/ led them herself in part, and, since weeping and mourn-
ing over the bear is a necessary requirement of a bear festival in
order to be relieved of all guilt for the death of the bear and any
ultimate responsibility for it, one would certainly not be mistaken
in ascribing the alleged grief to this conception which is common
to the Ainu along with the Gilyak and other peoples. Among the
231 Gilyak, at any rate, I never heard anything which would confirm
171 Kannemon's tale about the Ainu. Among them a watery moss is
more likely to serve as the first food for a bear cub. Free at first,
or kept in a little cage in one corner of the hut, the bear, when

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191 it becomes larger, is put in a stronger prison outside the house and built exactly as among the Gilyak, and is fed on fish (1). The

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1. In Rumjanzof Bay on Jesso, as well as in Aniwa Bay on Sakhalin, Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 79) and Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 285) saw a young bear in almost every Ainu hut.

only way in which an Ainu bear-cage differs from a Gilyak one is that the more or less long poles planted at the corners of the structure, with fine wooden spirals hanging from them, as they were seen by Coen, the helmsman of one of the boats led by Vries in the discovery of Aniwa Bay in 1643 (2), may scarcely be lacking

2. Siebold, Aardr. - en volkenk. toelicht., etc., p. 110.

on it (3).

3. See also Scheube, loc. cit.

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These poles or sticks with fluttering wooden spirals, called inau or inao by the Ainu of Sakhalin, inabo by those of Jesso, imitations of the hei or gohei sticks adorned with strips of paper which are used as symbols of divinity and holiness in the old Japanese kami religion (Sintô /Shinto/) (4), play an important part at the

4. Scheube, loc. cit. . Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 203.

bear festival of the Ainu. Not only the bear's cage, but also the interior of the hut is decorated with them, and they are set up in great number around it and in front of it on a place on the east side of it where the bear is eventually killed. Bamboo leaves

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796 fastened on with them and in part to them are also used for deco-
 798 ration during the bear festival, according to Scheube, in order to
 171 express through their evergreen and nonperishable condition the
 wish that the dead bear may live again. In the north of Sakhalin
 and in the Amur region, where there is no bamboo, we saw the
 Gilyak use the likewise evergreen cedar and fir branches for the
 same purpose of decoration and also toss these into the fire dedi-
 cated to the bear, in order to evoke its good will by the smoke
 and fragrance produced by burning them and to express to it or its
 manes, if not the wish for a reawakening of life, at any rate their
 respect and veneration.

796 According to Mamia Rinsô (5), among the Ainu of Sakhalin
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5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189.

[413] another festival precedes the bear festival proper, and at it, if
 the bear is two or three years old, its eyeteeth are blunted so that
 it cannot wound anybody with its bite. For this, /737/ after it
 has been lifted from its cage by means of a noose, its feet are tied
 to poles so that it cannot jump, and the points of the eyeteeth
 removed with a saw-like instrument made by them themselves.

[171] The more courageous, bolder, and, in dealing with the bear,
 more experienced and probably also more skilled Gilyak scorn
 doing this and, on the contrary, regard being wounded by a bear,
 which not infrequently happens among them, as the greatest of
 honors.

796 At the bear festival proper, ending with the killing and eat-
 782 ing of the bear, before putting a hand on it the Ainu offer a liba-
 tion, first the men and then the bear's wet-nurse and several older
 women, in the house to the god of fire in front of the hearth deco-
 rated with an inau and then to the house god in the corner dedi-
 cated to him. This is done by lifting a sake-filled cup to the
 forehead with the left hand and with the right dipping a small flat
 stick pointed at one end, which was lying across the cup, into
 the liquid and letting a few drops fall to the ground or, before the
 god of fire, into it itself, and then moving the stick back and forth

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[535] horizontally a few times and murmuring a few words which Scheube did not understand. This is repeated in front of the bear's cage, whereupon the women and girls execute a dance in front of it and in doing so turn toward the bear with caressing glances and movements. /Page 738 is blank, and the following unnumbered page is the title page for the appendix, "Excerpts from the Travel Books, Notebooks, and Journals Left by the Author." /

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I. Religious Conceptions of the Amur Peoples. --
Idols, Amulets -- Shamans.

Religious Conceptions

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1. Gilyak. It is very difficult to obtain information concerning the religion of the Gilyak. I learned the following from Jutschin and Labgun (*). They call "God" ýžigy (**) and designate

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* From the villages of Patchä and Wassj at the mouth of the Amur.

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** Wherever the author used л and ж from the Russian alphabet, they have been replaced by y and ja /according to the system used here, these letters would be transliterated as y and ya, respectively/.

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him as the good one, kíngulätsch, an attribute that means the same as good (sontz). They did not understand my question as to whether "God" lived in heaven, or where else? -- and said only that they did not have any god (idol) in their yurts. I all the more doubted the assertion repeatedly given to me by the Gilyak that they did not have any idols, since I myself have human and animal figures carved in wood from the village of Kuík (***). But they

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*** On the left bank of the Amur, below Nikolayevsk, also Kuëgda, Kuëgra, Kuëgri-wo; see pp. 448, 535.

622my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there
788is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His
main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group.
His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of
rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanc-
tion of a trespasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources
(pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs:
a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being
kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned
arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervi-
sion of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group,
d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to indi-
viduals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from pro-
duction technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was
respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as
the bear ceremony.

621 Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data
on the subject are scanty and fragmentary¹²⁾. The description below is based
[115] on the data from Tokapchi and Otopuke. This aspect among the Azuma
Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent infor-
mant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the
subject.

614 Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male
[621] patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which
[161] the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi*
[778] *ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of mein-
bership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark,
ekashi itokpa (Note 15)¹³⁾, to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick
for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities.

[562] The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi*
ikiru might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different
local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

614 The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core
621 *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict
591 rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorial residence
608 and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi*
[79] *ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular mem-
bers, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

ekashi ikiru so that he could obtain the right to perform the *kamuinomi* ritual associated with the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the core *ekashi ikiru* and he had to observe these rituals when it was necessary¹⁾.

The transmission of *ekashi itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be performed by the headman of the daughter's father's local group. The *ekashi itokpa* newly obtained was called *matchama itokpa*, the *itokpa* of woman's side. It was the duty of the new comer to observe the ritual for deities of his wife's father's *ekashi ikiru* with the offering-sticks, *kamuinomi inau*, bearing the *matchama itokpa* on some necessary occasions. The bear ceremony was certainly one but what others were could not be identified. The new comer was thus affiliated with the local group of his wife's father but he continued to hold his own *itokpa* inherited²⁾ from his father and to observe the ritual associated therewith¹⁾. It means that he was not fully adopted to the core *ekashi ikiru* but was semi-adopted. But with his sons it was not so. The first son was affiliated with his father's *ekashi ikiru* and not with that of his mother's father; he was expected to go back to live with the local group to the core of which his father or his patrilineal male ancestor belonged. All sons except the first were expected to live with the local group in which they were born; however, they might be affiliated with either of their father's *ekashi ikiru* or their mother's father's, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*. Which of the above *ekashi ikiru* they were to be affiliated with was determined under the direction of their headman. In case of affiliation with their father's *ekashi ikiru* they had to inherit the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their father as their own to "follow the ancestors of their father's side". But to live there as the regular members of the group they had also to obtain the *itokpa* of their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru* besides their own and to participate in the ritual of the group on some necessary occasions. In case of adoption into their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru*, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*, they inherited the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their mother's father to "follow the ancestors of their mother's father's side", and lived with them. The senior son could also remain to live among the local group in which he was born by going through the same procedure as his father had gone through when he came to live there.

All the procedures stated above had to be followed under the direction of the headman of their local group and the transmission of the *itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be observed²⁾ by him.

In some Ainu local groups there were found, besides regular members, a certain number of persons in the category of *anun utari*, foreign people. The word was prefixed with the name of the river where they stayed, e.g. *Olo-puke anun utari*, and so forth. By *anun utari* is meant observers of *anun kamuinomi* or non-local *kamuinomi* rituals. They fall under two classes.

- 1, [Errata: the word "ikherited" should read "inherited". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-B--Analyst]
- 2, [Errata: the word "observed" should read "observed"--Analyst]

group whether obtained by adoption or by birth. In either of the Otopuke⁶¹⁴ and Satnai valleys all the local groups formed a single *shine itokpa* group. But the local groups who lived in the Tokapchi valley were divided into several *shine itokpa* groups: the one in the upstream area consisted of seven local groups of Kuttarashi, Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi, Sanenkorō, Moseushi and Penke Pipaushi, another group on the middle course consisted possibly of five local groups of Kene, Memroputu, Pipairu, Fushiko and Shupusara, and perhaps one or two more *shine itokpa* groups further downstream which could not be identified.

The group had neither single authority nor common territory. The only collective action of the *shine itokpa* group, so far as identified by the present writer, was the bear ceremony (pp. 74-77). It provided the only occasion^[796] for meeting many of their relatives and friends who resided outside the local group. In normal times no group larger than the local group took part in any collective enterprise, though on rare occasions two related families from different local groups within a *shine itokpa* group might and actually did^[628] privately join to cooperate in hunting or fishing. Formal relations between local groups were rarely established, but through intermarriage (p. 17) there might have been many individual contacts between kin and affines in different local groups.^[628]

The River Group.

The river group is an aggregation of all the local groups which lived⁶¹⁹ along a river as distinguished by the Ainu⁶³¹. It was called by the name of the river plus *un utaru*, the people in such and such a river. The river group might consist of a single *shine itokpa* group as in each of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys or consist of several *shine itokpa* groups as in the Tokapchi valley. They regarded the river basin as their own territory, claiming exclusive rights to exploit all its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders (pp. 56-57; 67-68; 77-78). Hence they were also called *shine iworo ukokoru utaru*, the people jointly possessing one and the same *iworu* of the river valley as distinguished by the Ainu. However, at least in normal times, there was no single authority controlling the group as a whole. The main bond which linked the people of a river together not only seems to have been economic interests but a deeply rooted cosmological background. There is evidence that each river as distinguished by the Ainu was associated⁶¹⁹ with one or several particular *ekashi itokpa*. It was the *shine itokpa* group⁸²³ which had one of these aboriginal *itokpa*. Only the people having the aboriginal *itokpa* associated with the river, observing the associated ritual for local deities and living in the river valley, were regarded as the real people of the river who were entitled to be guardians of the river valley and of the deities that were believed to live there and look after them (pp. 70-71; 77-78).^[776]

619 the sole power to act in the matter. On getting permission, the person was
423 made acceptable to all other local groups within the territory through communication and introduction by the issuing headman (p. 77).

423 Territories Maintained by Groups Smaller than the River Group within the
621 Territory of the River Group⁽⁷⁾.

The following territories were maintained by individual simple families, cooperative groups and local groups forming the larger group, i. e. the river group: places for setting bows and deer-fences, named concentrations of spawning beds of dog salmon, sites for peep-fishing huts, fish-traps and weirs.

Evidence from Saru suggests that a site for digging aconite in the lower Saru was under control of a local group nearest to it (WATANABE, 1951, pp. 78-79). It is true that collecting sites for the plant of 'best' quality were localized (p. 66). The territoriality on the sites in other areas is unknown. It seems to be certain that bears' dens were owned by Ainu hunters but the category of the controlling body can not be identified clearly.

Types of Territory

Territory Maintained by the River Group as a Whole	Territories Maintained by Smaller Groups within the River Group	Controlling Body	Condition of the Place
River basin as prescribed by the Ainu	Site for peep-hut (<i>woran chise karu ushi</i>)	Individual simple family	Unstable
	Site for fish-trap (<i>urui karu ushi</i>)		
	Site for weir (<i>tesh karu ushi</i>)		
	Place for setting bows (<i>ku ari ushi</i>)	Cooperative group	Stable
	Place for deer-fence (<i>kuteki ushi</i>)		
	Named concentration of spawning beds of dog salmon (<i>yaicharo iki, ichan or ichanumi</i>)	Local group	Very stable

- The ichthyological characters of the spawning beds and grounds of dog salmon have already been described (Note 28). It was customary with each Ainu local group to give a name to the respective spawning grounds near their settlement where spawning beds of the salmon recurred every season in a greater concentration than elsewhere and to observe annually a series of rituals for these as the controlling body of the particular fishing grounds (p. 72). Each settlement was usually situated near one of the spawning grounds

nature; it is the food forwarded to the Ainu by the *kamui* who lives in the sea and sends it to the Ainu. The *kamui* is referred to by different informants as either of *chepatte kamui* and *atui koru kamui* (Note 53), of which the former seems to be correct. The Ainu called dog salmon *kamui chep*, divine fish, or *shiipe kamui chep*, grand food divine fish.

b) The salmon is the subordinate of the *kamui* who lives in a house similar to that of the Ainu somewhere in the sea, and has a human form like the Ainu.

c) There are a number of leaders, *utaru pake kuru* (headman), among salmon spirits who run up different rivers to visit the Ainu, leading their own group of salmon spirits, *ichan kara kamui* (spawning-bed making *kamui*), under the direction of the *chepatte kamui* (or *atui koru kamui*).

d) When visiting the Ainu, they bring with them meals of salmon meat for the Ainu.

e) After giving this meat to the Ainu and being entertained by them, each spirit of the salmon assumes a human form and goes back by boat to its home in the sea. On the way back, they take with them such souvenirs given by the Ainu as *inau*-sticks.

f) Which river they run up depends upon the direction of the *kamui* in the sea. He will forward plenty of salmon to the river along which live the Ainu who respect and welcome them in proper way.

g) The fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, tells the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, how the salmon caught were treated by their capturers, the Ainu. The river-owning spirit communicates this to the *kamui* in the sea.

h) Salmon when caught should be treated in certain prescribed ways; otherwise, they will never come back again.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to Dog Salmon⁹².

Towards the termination of cherry salmon runs, dog salmon started running. Before the arrival of salmon, each local group observed a pre-fishing ritual, *petorun kamuinomi*, to ensure their coming up. The male household heads of the local group participated in the ritual organized and directed by the headman. Prayers and offering-sticks, *inau*, were given to the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit. The *inau* bore the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the headman, that is, of the patrilineal male-kin group which constituted the core of the local group. After the collective ritual at the headman's house, each household head made *inau*-offerings, *pet oren asange inau*, and went to set them up at the prescribed spot, *inau aroshiki ushi*, near the spawning ground habitually exploited by his own settlement group and controlled by his own local group as a whole.

As previously mentioned in connection with dog-salmon fishing, shoals

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825 running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can spawn. The earliest group which run up the main stream of the river around which each river group evolved, were regarded as *kamui oren oman chep*, fish which run up to *kamui*, though the *kamui* could not be named definitely. The terminus recognized by the Ainu of dog salmon run in the main stream of each river, either the Tokapchi, the Otopuke or the Azuma, corresponds with the lowermost limit of the deep mountain *iworu*, *kimun iworu*.

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- 796 The member of each settlement who caught the first salmon, *ashiri chep*, *hoshino shirepa chep* or *ashino lanepo chep*, sent it to his headman. Every [431] food gift among the Ainu, whether to the headman or to anyone else, was regarded as an offering, *akopuni*, to the fire-spirit. Besides this gift the first [514] fisher of each settlement invited the people to eat together from his first catch, which was cooked in his house for the first time in the season. The first dog salmon to be eaten for the first time in each house, either in the first fisher's house or in any other's, must be offered to the fire-spirit of each household and the ritual cutting must be performed by a male with his man's knife, *inauke mahiri*, the *inau*-scraping knife. The mandible *paetu*, of the salmon, eaten for the first time in each household was reserved for tying to a new *inau*-stick which was to be thrown into the river at the end of the season.

When the spawning of salmon ended at the spawning grounds of each local group, each headman called together all the male household heads to his house and observed a post-run or post-fishing ritual, *petorun kamui nomi*, ritual for the river spirit, 'to see off salmon-spirits' and to pray for a plentiful next run. The ritual procedure seems to have been much the same as that for the pre-run ritual, except that on return from the headman's house, each household head threw special *inau*-sticks, *chip inau*, or dug-out *inau*, attached with all the mandibles of the dog salmon eaten in his house during the year, into the river at a prescribed spot near the spawning ground most frequented by the people of his settlement.

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Taboos concerning dog salmon fishing were much more severe with female than with male members and much more stringent for spawning grounds than for other sites.

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Brown Bear as Viewed by the Ainu.

a) Like all plants and animals, the bear when in its own land is in human form and lives in a house similar to that of an Ainu. The house, *kamui chise*, appears to the eyes of the Ainu as a den.

b) The bear-spirit, *kimun kamui*, *kamui* residing deep in the mountains, has its kinsmen, *utari*, and its headman, *utari shikamakkuru*, the man to look after his kinsmen⁴²¹. The chief of the bears, *metolush kamui*, *kamui* in the

231 Otopuke.

Rearing of a cub usually took nearly a year, from March or April till January or February next year, or in some cases two years, at the end of which period the animal was killed with ritual. A large quantity of feed was necessary which was practically the same kind as food for the Ainu themselves. Indeed, the amount consumed by an average cub in one day from the first autumn on, is said to have been equal to that for several grown-up Ainus. Surplus stores of salmon and wild nuts gathered in autumn went to this purpose, as well as wild vegetables collected during spring and summer.

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614 • The ritual killing of the cub, *kamui iomante*, sending off the bear-spirit, took place in January or at latest in February, before the spring bear hunting set in once again⁶¹. The ritual was observed as a collective enterprise of the whole *shine itokpa* group. This group represents the patrilineal grouping of the male members who formed the core sections of the neighbouring local groups in the same river valley (p. 15). As far as the present writer has examined, the ritual killing of the cub was the only peacetime collective activity participated in with regularity by the *shine itokpa* group as a whole. The observance of the so-called bear ceremony has been widely but very vaguely known as the greatest of Ainu peacetime collective actions, but little has been made known about its social aspect⁶⁷.

[628] Prior to the ceremony the headmen of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group held a meeting, *ukosania*, at the house of one who by custom came first in order among them, to fix dates for the ceremonies at their respective² settlement. The ceremonies came in a customary order. To take an example from one of the *shine itokpa* groups in Tokapchi, it was customary for the local groups forming the member sections to observe their cub-killing rites in the order of Nitmap, Kuttarashi, Moseushi, Sanenkoro, Kumaushi, Pipaushi and Penkepipaushi. In the *shine itokpa* group in Otopuke, which consisted of two local groups, the upper local group came first. In the local group on turn, each of the cubs kept by the headman and other families was killed with due rituals at the hands of its keeper, *hepere koru kuru*, and his family. Whether they were killed individually at the keeper's house, as was the case at Tokapchi and Otopuke, or collectively at the headman's where they were all brought together, as at Nukapira and Saru, the rituals were performed in a fixed order of households in each local group. First came the headman's. He had exercised a custodianship over all the cubs kept within the group. It was not until the initial killing had been performed by the headman on his own cub that other cubs in the same group were killed ritually by other keepers. The rule of the order for the latter is not known; however, in the local group at Nitmap the core of which consisted 1, [Errata: the word "respective" should read "respective"
A --Analyst]

of male siblings, the headman was followed by others in the order of seniority. At Nukipet, it is informed, the order was in the nearness of kin to the headman. The ritual killing at each keeper's house in a local group, whether it had one cub or two, was finished in a day, and it went round among all the keepers' houses in the group, one each day or every two days, until all finished. Generally a couple of days were left between the last day in one local group and the first in the next. Thus, for instance, the entire period required by the whole *shine itokpa* group, beginning with Nitmap and ending up with Penkepipaushi, extended well over a month. 796 ● 621

The ritual in each keeper's house was also participated in by the headmen and others; however, the leading part was played by the keeper. In the ritual he offered to his bear-cub the *inau*-sticks marked with his own ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (cf. Note 66). But, in Tokapchi and Otopuke at least, if he was a man of a different *ekashi ikiru* semi-adopted through marriage as a member of the core *ekashi ikiru* of the local group, he had to offer the *inau* bearing his wife's father's ancestor mark, *matchama itopka*. The details have already been given on p. 14 in relation to the kinship organization of the local group and the actual case is shown at the end of Note 15. Attendants of the ritual seem to have been mostly or almost exclusively members of the *shine itokpa* group. Persons married out of the member local group of the *shine itokpa* group, mostly women, were expected to attend if possible. As a matter of fact, they found themselves too busy with similar activities in their own groups. A very few who could attend came accompanied by their husbands. Attendants at rituals in other settlements or local groups were mostly adults. At the bear festival season people often stayed away from home for more than ten days attending one ceremony after another in the member settlements of their *shine itokpa* group. Some of the seniors, it seems, were away even for a whole month. 796 614

Bear cubs were captured almost regularly each year by the interior settlements of the upper Otopuke local group, such as Naitai, Meto, Rucha and Wop, while with the lower settlements there were years when no cubs were taken. This seems especially to have been the case with the coastal settlements, *pishun kotan* (p. 47). Of the local groups on the upper Tokapchi, it is informed, three families at Nitmap, i.e. the Shurunke's, the Zarashi's and the Osareainu's, three at Moseushi, i.e. the Ritenkouk's, the Ranketuk's, and the Rarauk's, two at Kumaushi, three or four at Kuttarashi and two or three at Sanenkoro, almost always kept two cubs each; there were other houses which kept one. In case a headman failed to secure any cub for his rearing, as informed to have happened occasionally among some local groups, he was entrusted with one, if any, captured by some other member in his group. As for groups with no cubs of their own, the members, instead of having their 231 796 [622]

- 231 own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the *shine*
 ● 796 *itokpa* group⁽⁸⁾.

796 Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and
 619 Habitat.

423 The Ainu used to believe that the *kamui*-spirits which lived in the *iworu* of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i.e. the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtainable from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going through a certain ritual procedure for the local *kamui*-spirits. Their claim to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but also by their cosmological system as such.

423 If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another
 226 local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group.
 [628] Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual
 [782] for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *inau*-sticks made by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of the amount of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group, permission was usually given without fail.

[431] Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission, every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the nearby settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case, part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

716 In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the ter-
 619 ritory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of
 423 the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local
 [782] *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer
 [685] of any trespasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available
 [782] at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the local *kamui* spirits of the river concerned⁽⁹⁾. Also the discovery of such evidence of trespass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

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[p.144]

[52] The category of supernatural beings that received the greatest emphasis among the Ainu is the *kamui*. Except for the Ainu culture-hero, *awoia kamui*, all *kamui* are spirits of natural phenomena. In the supernatural world *kamui* take the form of Ainus. They have families, settlements, and even headmen. They may visit the land of the Ainu. When they do so, they disguise themselves by taking the form of some natural phenomena on earth, and bring something for the Ainu. When the material guise of the *kamui* was killed, the *kamui* departed for the *kamui*-land; its departure had to be marked with an appropriate ritual. It is for this reason that the Ainu damped bones and skins as well as broken or used-up artifacts and even ashes from the fire-place to prescribed spots with due ritual (Fig. 1).

According to my informants the dead and *kamui* are different things. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 567 and 569) and NATORI (1945, p. 150) describe of an Ainu belief that the dead join company with their ancestors, *shinri*, and live in the same way as in this world, even observing rituals for *kamui*. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 568-9) and NATORI (1945, pp. 149-50) note the idea of dichotomy of their another world into the *kamui*-land which is the destination of the good and the under-land believed to be the destination of the bad. KUBODERA (1956, p. 6) states that the Ainu regard another world as existing under this world, and IZUMI (1951, p. 215) mentions that another world of the Saru Ainu was believed to exist under the territory of the river group. My informants distinguish between the ancestor ritual, *shinnurappa*, and the ritual for *kamui*, *kamuinomi* and between the offering sticks to ancestors, *icharupa inau* or *shinnurappa inau*, and those to *kamui*, *kamuinomi inau*. The ancestor ritual was performed at a place different from that for the *kamui*-ritual.

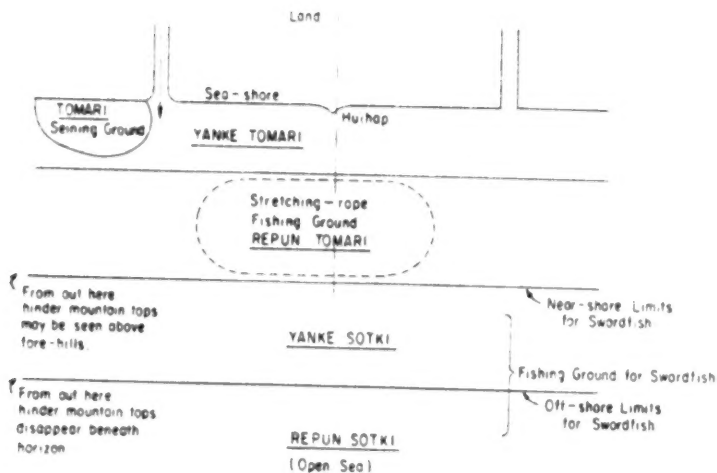
The essential components of the ancestor ritual are shedding of wine and foods onto *icharupa inau* each to be offered to an ancestor or ancestress, and associated prayers which are different from those for *kamui*-deities, *kamuinomi inono utak*. The *icharupa* ritual was observed by men as well as women; however, it should always have been preceded by *kamuinomi* ritual the observance of which was exclusively in the hands of men.

It is said that a male Ainu worshipped male ancestors of his *ekashi ikiru* and a female Ainu female ancestors of her *huchi ikiru*. In practice, however, the ancestors to whom they directed the ritual and the generations which the ancestors covered seem to have been few. According to Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, those ancestors were usually patrilineal or matrilineal relatives of the observer of the ritual whom the observer had seen and

The Ainu

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- 226 The operation was carried out with their settlements as base without
 • 796 using any special lodges. The fish caught was disposed in practically the same way as with the bear. Its head was set on an altar erected out of doors "so that it might return to the open sea with the *inau* and regain its original shape." The flesh was shared as *aeimek* among all the families in the local group and also relatives living outside.

823/54 YOSHIDA was informed by an old Ainu that the Tokapchi, a male river, and the Ishikari, a female river, are a married couple whose children are the Otopuke and Satnai rivers (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 151). Another old Ainu informed him that the Otopuke is a son of the Tokapchi and the Satnai a daughter of it (ibid., p. 326).

796/55 The dominance-subordination relation between the *kamui* attributed to a
 823 river, *pet*, as distinguished by the Ainu and around which a river group has evolved, and the *kamui* attributed to each of the tributary streams of the river, has been given no attention in any published materials. For the Ainu belief of water spirits living in a large group with its chief or headman presiding over them, reference may be made to the following descriptions by KINTAICHI: "There are so many of these (water spirits) *kamui* that, when soliciting their help, the Ainus call a chief as in this ritual prayer),

0 *kamui*, who keep your eyes on the stream flowing down this village of Saru,

0 *kamui*, who command a host of retainers of *wakka ushi kamui*, the

that when the time came he went down to a certain place on a certain tributary, where he made *inau*-offerings in a ritual for the fish and then watched for their arrival. When they came, he had a number of his local group men visit the site daily to haul them by spearing. In either of the Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys, the rituals for the *chirai*, like those for the dog salmon, differed from the cherry salmon rites to be described below in that they involved a post-run or post-fishing ritual including the throwing of the mandible of the first-caught fish and the *inau* offerings into the stream.

The ritual for the cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui* or *ichaniu kamui-chep*, took place at the approach of the runs and was an observance on the level of the cooperative group as a unit. On the upper Tokapchi, on the bank of the main stream, close by the weir site, *tesh karu ushi*, shaved wooden sticks, *inau*, were set up by male members of the weir fishing group. The ritual over, the group immediately set to work together building the weir. In Otopuke where each local group was splitted into several minor *kotan* groups (p. 9), and each *kotan* group constituted a weir fishing group (p. 44), the eldest member of each *kotan* seems to have been in charge of the pre-fishing ritual. The practice of offering the first cherry salmon to the fire spirit is known from Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet at least. No post-fishing ritual was observed for the fish in either of the areas.

In Otopuke at least, *spun*, a kind of Tribolodon, was also called *kamuichep* and the first-caught fish of each family was offered to the fire spirit of their house. The fish was treated with neither a pre-fishing nor post-fishing ritual.

The cults for those kinds of fishes remain to be explored in further details.

63 Chief of the bears and its subordinates.—The chief of the bears is represented by different names in different parts of Hokkaido. A few examples from a list of different *kamui* names relating to the bear ceremony (NATORI, 1911) are: *ponporokatok etok un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the depth of Ponporokatok—Sorapchi area), *nupuri koru kamui* (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*—Mashike area), *nupuri nushiki un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the middle of the mountains—also Mashike area), *kamui ekashi* (i.e. *kamui* old man—Yoichi area), *kimun kamui* (*kamui* deep in the mountains—Shiraoi area), *medotushi kamui* (i.e. *kamui* deep in the mountains—Saru area). Still another name collected in Azuma by the present writer is *kimerok kamui*, *kamui* sitting in the heart of the mountain.

As is well known, the Ainu view is that the world of bears has its chiefs and their family or subordinates and that the subordinates come as guests to the Ainu, who in due time send them back again to their chief. The view is clearly indicated, for instance, in the information collected by NATORI 1,2, [Errata: these should read "of" and "constituted" respectively. Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

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Tokapchi. The Ainu belief that the spirit of the sent-off animal returns to the specific mountain at the head of a river that is regarded as the abode of the chief of the bears, is distinctively and minutely represented in some of their mythological stories. KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; pp. 176-177. 825
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The only available information that suggests a territorial ordering of bears as laid down by the Ainu will be found in a quotation from INUKAI at the end of Note 63.

In spite of all such information, however, no attention has ever been paid [182] to the system of social solidarity, based on the territorial principle, which exists between the river group and the bears in the same river area.

66 Season for the bear ceremony.--Different writers and informers give different times for the bear ceremony: September or October (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 121; mostly between late November and January to February (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 256; in and about Kutcharo at least, between December and January to February (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126). The actual dates of the few festivals observed by Ainu hunters in recent times vary considerably as in the following cases: 25 November, 1939, for one performed by Oyamada at Rankoushi in Shikot (NATORI, 1941, p. 68); 16-17 December, 1939, for one observed by Ōno at Suwan in Kushiro (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 96; 29 January, 1940, for another again by Oyamada at the same place (NATORI, 1941, p. 68). It must be noticed, however, that in the days when the natives still lived in their traditional ways a limited period in winter was the only time for a whole settlement group to engage in festive activities which lasted for days or for any great number of people to come together from different settlements, as may be observed in the chart on p. 53 showing the cycle of gathering activities. A diary left by one of the earliest Japanese settlers on the middle Tokapchi HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records an invitation he received to a bear ceremony at one of local Ainu households on 21 January, 1883 (ibid., p. 111) and another to one at a local headman's on 14 January, 1884 (ibid., p. 160). SARASHINA mentions that along the river Kutcharo or Kushiro bear ceremonies went round in succession from the upper to lower settlements (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126; for a case of the ceremonies in modern times in the same area, see Note 67). Though no detailed information is available, such a custom appears to have been related in some way with the system described in the text by which a series of bear ceremonies were performed in sequence by different member local groups or settlement groups of each *shimo tokpa*² group. 796 •

67 Social aspect of bear ritual. The so-called bear ceremony of the Ainu in its traditional form is now only barely preserved among the small remnant 796
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796 of Ainu bear hunters, and even with those huntsmen the event has ceased to
 178 function socially as it did in the past. What has hitherto been described by
 various writers has been confined to its formal aspect, chief works dealing
 with which may be found in the bibliographies by HALLOWELL 1926 and
 INUKAI and NATORI (1939; more recently, minutely detailed reports have
 been published by INUKAI and NATORI (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939 and 1940;
 796 NATORI, 1941). For various reasons its social aspect has been virtually
 ignored in nearly all studies of the Ainu, and our knowledge of that aspect
 has remained little further than what was summarized by HALLOWELL, as
 follows: "In every case it is evident that the affair is communal in nature.
 [574] Not only friends and relatives in the village but sometimes individuals from
 other settlements as well are invited by the owner of the bear, who is also
 the host" (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 122). Only in a later report by INUKAI and
 NATORI (1940) on the formal aspect of the bear rite as it is observed today
 may one have fragmentary information regarding the subject—the relation
 between the rite and the participants. Here follows an excerpt from the
 above report referring to a bear festival which took place in the middle of
 December in 1939 at Suwan settlement in Kushiro, one of the older native
kotan (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, pp. 96-135).

In the spring of 1939 a bear cub was caught by Kawasaki, an old Ainu
 from Kutcharo settlement who lodged at the settlement of Suwan. The cub
 was taken over by Old Ōno, a descendant of Hashibami, elder of the former
 Suwan *kotan*, and it was kept in a cage built by the sacred window of his
 ancestral dwelling. The ritual killing of the bear was performed at an old
 altar left by the late Hashibami, about 40 metres from the cage.

[628] The ceremony was attended by members of the three other settlements
 on the river, Kutcharo (the uppermost settlement, Tohro and Harutori (the
 lowermost settlement). The attendants from Harutori were all females. On
 this occasion at least, for reasons not known, no invitation was sent to the
 settlement but the women came to join the ceremony. It is informed that
 the bear festivals at Suwan had been attended by members of about the same
 four *kotan*. The main participants were: old Ōno, who had brought up the
 cub; old Kawasaki, who caught it, old Isosato, who was descended from a
 headman of the former Kutcharo; Tosa, an old member of Tohro; Yama-
 naka and Teshi, old members of Kutcharo. The main part of the bear cere-
 mony consisted of a series of rituals, not only to the bear itself but also to
 other associated *kamui* groups. The essential element of the rituals is the
 [782] offering of prayers and *inau*-sticks to the respective *kamui*. The performance
 [562] of the rituals was allotted to the male participants who came from the afore-
 mentioned settlements, the important parts being taken by the elders whose
 names were previously mentioned. Now old Ōno was the adopted into his

family and he had been in Japanese service since an early age, which circumstance had made his knowledge of the bear rite insufficient for a chief priest. The duty on this occasion had accordingly been commissioned to Kawasaki who had caught the cub, but something or other prevented him from taking up the duty, which finally went to old Teshi of Kutcharo. Of all the eight *inau* offered to the bear-spirit the most important were the two fixed to the forked ends of the pole set up at the outdoor altar and supporting the bear's skull. These carried Ōno's ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, which also marked other two of the remaining six set up on both outer sides. Of the rest two had the *itokpa* of Kawasaki and one that of Tosa. The person who offered the remaining one is not mentioned. NATORI did not give any information about the kinship relation between those persons who offered the *inau* and that between their *kotan*; however, it is interesting to see that the ancestor marks of all those persons share a common design element but differ from each other in the total pattern (ibid., p. 131, Fig. 39). [796] [778]

NATORI states that though presided over by a chief priest, the Ainu bear ceremony was no family affair but a joint observance of the whole local membership. In the days when the headman was the indisputed centre of authority, every bear cub taken was brought to him and every bear killed on a hunt received due rites in his presence (ibid., p. 131). [621] [622]

68) INUKAI and NATORI is the only writers who have supplied information on the frequency of the bear festival. He points out that in spite of many writers describing the ceremony as if it were a sort of calendar custom in the Ainu *kotan*, there can be no bear ceremony in a *kotan* in the year when no cub is taken; that since different households in the same *kotan* may capture cubs in different years, it is natural that different families perform the festival in different years; that in some years one family may ritually kill two or three cubs at a time (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 255). These points have been confirmed in his surveys by the present writer. Usually, a cub caught in the spring was killed at the ceremony early in the following year. Sometimes one was kept for two or three years before it was killed. The development of the bear-rearing custom among the Ainu as described above naturally had for its requisite more or less surplus production of food stuffs. The stability of the settlement should be counted among other factors. [231] [132]

69) In the *kamuinomi*-ritual he¹ was required to offer *ashimpe* to the *kamui* concerned. The *ashimpe* in this case might include, besides *inau*-sticks, some items regarded by the Ainu as the best of their treasures, *ikoro*, such as *tuki* and *shintoko*, lacquer wares imported from Japan. Such *ikoro* were offered to local *kamui* concerned also in case of getting permission in advance of [782] [685] [439] [782]

1. [i.e., a person who was apprehended while trespassing in the territory of another river group--Analyst]